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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Antiquity of the Purāṇic Story Traditions¹

BY

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To find out the antiquity of the Purāṇic story traditions it is necessary to investigate and find out the occasion and meaning with which the word *Purāṇa* or *Itihāsa* is used in the Vedas. Of all the Vedas it is only in the *Atharva Veda* that we first come across with the word *Purāṇa* in two *Rks*. But the word indicating some ancient sacred lore and denoting a specific branch of the holy literature is made clear only in the 4th *Rk* of the 6th *paryāya* of the 15th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Atharva Veda*, where the *Rk* says: 'He (the Prajāpati) moved out, etc. After him moved out both the *Itihāsa* (the narrative) and the *Purāṇa* (the story of the eld) and the *Gāthās* (songs) and the *Nārāsaṁsās* (eulogies). Verily both of the *Itihāsa* and of the *Purāṇa* and of the *Gāthās* and of the *Nārāsaṁsās* doth he become the dear abode who knoweth thus.'

The above *Rk* shows that the *Purāṇa* as embodying old traditional stories existed beyond doubt in the time of the *Atharva Veda*, and the 24th *Rk* of the 7th *Sūkta* of the 11th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Atharva Veda*, which says that 'The Verses (*Rk*), the chants (*sāma*), the meters,

¹ This paper was read before the International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, August 1928, by Dr R. C. Mazumdar, on my behalf, to whom I take this opportunity of expressing my deepest reverence and profound gratitude,

the ancient (*Purāna*) together with the formula (*Yajus*): from the remnant were born, etc., etc.'; clearly and certainly offers a very good hypothesis for working out an antiquity for the *Purānas* (i.e. stories) along with the origin of the Gods and *mantras*. It will be seen now that *Itihāsa* and *Purāna* stories were inseparably connected with the origin of the Vedic *mantras* and that some of the story traditions which are embodied in our modern *Purānas* are as old and sacred as Vedic *mantras* themselves.

We know that the four Vedas are 'collections' called *Samhitās* of hymns and prayers made for different ritual purposes. The four Vedas were followed by another class of literature, called Post-*mantra* or Post-*Samhitā* treatises, or rather the *Brāhmanas*, i.e., the literature connected with the explanation of the Vedic *mantras*, in which the importance of the old Vedic hymns and formulas now came to find their application to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. The *Brāhmanas* aimed at explaining the mutual relation of the Sacred Text and the ceremonial, and in course of explaining the relation and application of the Vedic hymns to the different parts of the Brāhmanical ritual, they introduce many myths and legends and stories of old, showing the occasion on which a particular hymn was first revealed or composed, which were essentially required on the part of a Brāhmana to know (as we shall see later on), while reciting the *mantras*, or on the occasion of performing a sacrifice. As such we encounter in the *Brāhmanas* many stories and legends which appear in the hymns concerned in a very brief way, but in an embellished form in our *Purānas*, thereby showing the existence of those Purānic stories in the time of the composition of the hymns of the Veda. I may refer to a passage in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 13-18) to illustrate the manner in which the hymns are quoted in the *Brāhmanas*, relating to the story of Sunaśśepa. In this the author of the *Brāhmaṇa* quotes various hymns (24th, 25th, 26th, 27th) from the 1st *mandala* of the *Rg Veda*, which is said to have been uttered in praise of different deities, by Sunaśśepa, at the time when he was in danger of being immolated. This reference to Sunaśśepa's immolation certainly contains a legend, and we find it in several *Sūtras*¹ and also in

¹ *Sāṅkhyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra*, xv. 17 and xvi. 11. 1-3 and also referred to in the *Śrauta Sūtras* of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana.

the *Purāṇas*. In *Rāmāyana* he is called the son of Ṛṣi Richika, who sells him for a hundred cows to Ambarīsha, King of Ayodhyā, as a victim for human sacrifice. He, however, meets Viśvāmitra, and implores his succour and learns from him a prayer, which he recites and Indra is induced to come to set him free. It is apparent therefore that the story has been handed down from the Veda. In *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 7, 7 Sunaśśepa is called the son of Viśvāmitra 'given by the Gods, and thence named Devarāta'. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 16, 30-31) makes him the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, but again adds that he was the son of Viśvāmitra's sister, and also narrates his being purchased by Hariścandra as a victim for the sacrifice. The *Vāyu* makes him the son of Richika, and refers to his being purchased by Hariścandra for his sacrifice. It is thus clear that though Sunaśśepa is variously genealogized in the *Purāṇas*, yet the main fact about the legend has been preserved, namely that he stood in danger of being immolated. It follows, therefore, that this Purāṇic legend was current in Vedic times, associated as it is with the revelation of the *Rg Veda* hymns as said above. As this story of Sunaśśepa is closely and intimately connected with Hariścandra, as has been shown, it is quite reasonable to infer that the story of Hariścandra too was current in Vedic times, which is never an independent story but is closely associated with the Sunaśśepa legend as the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 3. 1 ff) and *Saṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* (xv. 17-25) in which the earliest representation of the story is contained, seem to declare. There it is said that on Satya Vrata's death Hariścandra became king with the help of Viśvāmitra, but Viśvāmitra was compelled to depart owing to the instigation of Vasiṣṭha. Meantime Hariścandra begot a son named Rohita whom he had vowed to sacrifice to Varuṇa, but Rohita saved himself by buying the Ṛṣi Ajīgarta's son Sunaśśepa as a victim in his own stead. Afterwards Viśvāmitra attended the sacrifice of Hariścandra in which Sunaśśepa was substituted for Rohita, but set Sunaśśepa free. This is the story given by the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Sūtra* and is also to be found with slight variations in the other *Purāṇas* such as *Brahma* (104), and *Bhāgavata* (ix. 7, 7-27); and also in the *Mahābhārata* (xiii. 3, 186-7) and *Rāmāyana* (i. 61. 5-62, 27). There cannot be any denying of the fact that the legend of Sunaśśepa as told in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 13-18) in connection with the

various hymns of the 1st *mandala* of the *Rg Veda* and the story of Hariścandra as is just now described are one and the same story. It is of course a fact that there are discrepancies in this Sunaśśepa-Hariścandra story between the Brāhmanic and Purāṇic versions regarding the father of Sunaśśepa and the name of the king of Ayodhya, in which of course the Brāhmanic version is to be accepted as it is the earliest; yet the *Purāṇas* as a whole have retained the main feature of a story in which Sunaśśepa stood in danger of being immolated, but was set free by Viśvāmitra—a story which has an antiquity along with the Vedic *mantras*.

It has been said that the *Brāhmanas* allude to the texts in the hymns, and their relation to the ceremonials. It will now be seen that it was an imperative requirement on the part of a Brāhmana to know the importance of the Vedic hymns and formulas, and when they are to be applied to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. I may refer the readers to Śaunaka's *Bṛhaddevatā*, carefully and critically edited by Prof. Macdonell. The book is certainly not a mere catalogue of deities, but contains a number of legends with the object of explaining the circumstances under which the hymns they were connected with were composed.¹ I will cite some stanzas from the *Bṛhaddevatā* to show what circumstances they detail for the application of the Sacred Text to the ceremonial, which of course presupposes the existence of the *Purāṇic* stories.

Bṛhaddevatā, i. 21 says, 'In each case one should duly connect the formulas with the rites by ascertaining the deity, for that is the rite which is completely successful.'

Bṛhaddevatā, viii. 131 says, 'Of him who, knowing the deities of the formulas, at any time employs a rite, the deities taste the oblation, but not that of him who is ignorant of (those) deities.'

Bṛhaddevatā, viii. 134 says, 'In muttered prayer and in offering an oblation this is a necessity—the seer, the metre, and the divinity; and applying them wrongly one is here deprived of their fruit.'

So we see that, for the efficacy of the performance of a *Yajña* a sacrificer was required to know the following *Vidyās*: namely (1) which formula or *mantra* is to be uttered in compliance with the ceremony.

¹ The opinion of Dr. Sieg that the stories of *Bṛhaddevatā* especially that of Devāpī was borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* has been refuted by Prof. Macdonell. See *H.O.S.*, vol. v, Introduction, p. xxix.

(2) The name of the seer who is associated with the *mantra*, for composing it or for deriving any special object while reciting it. (3) The knowledge of the deities of a formula or *mantra*, etc. It is apparent therefore that the formulas or *mantras* as embodied in the *Samhitas* serve no practical and fruitful purpose if recited without the knowledge of the *Vidyās* just now enumerated ; and this is specially referred to in *Bṛhaddevatā*, viii. 136 where it is said, 'He who without knowing the seer, the metre, and the divinity, and the application (*Yoga*) should teach or even mutter a formula will fare the worse.' The above enumerated three *Vidyās* were therefore essentially required for attaining the *phalaśruti*. Let us now see how the knowledge of the deities of a formula directly implies the existence of Purānic stories.

The hymn has for its deity the particular God to whom the person concerned seeking to obtain any particular object which he longs for addresses his praises. In this sense we find in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (viii. 1 f.) the story of Devāpi, narrated to illustrate the deities of *Rg Veda*, x. 98. 1-3 f., thereby showing the currency of Devāpi tradition in connection with the composition of the above hymns of the *Rg Veda*. The story narrated in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (vii. 155 f.) is this : Devāpi and Śāntanu were two brothers, being the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa of the race of Kuru. The elder one Devāpi, who was suffering from skin diseases, thinking himself unfit to ascend the throne, retired to the forest, though he was offered sovereignty by the subjects at the death of his father ; and so Śāntanu, became king. Thereupon Parjanya did not rain, and as such Śāntanu with all his subjects went to Devāpi to dissuade him from his hermit life ; but he refused. Being earnestly requested by them however, he performed the rites, and, with x. 98. 1-3, sacrificed to Brhaṣpati, and in four stanzas x. 98. 4-7 sang (in praise of) the Gods only with a view to getting rain ; and with x. 98. 8-12 he invoked Agni ; and with the hymn x. 99 addressed Indra. So we see that the deities of the hymns of *Rg Veda*, x. 98. 1-3 f., are those which have been enumerated, a knowledge of which was essentially required ; but these being mingled with ancient lore (*Purāṇa*) for their origin, were automatically known to the ancient world. The modern *Purāṇas* are but collections of all such ancient story traditions, as we find the story of Devāpi narrated in most of the *Purāṇas*, though of course he is variously genealogized. In

the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 20, 7 f.) it is said that Pratipa had three sons ; Devāpi, Śāntanu and Vāhlika. The first adopted forest life in childhood, and the country was ruled over by the second, namely, Śāntanu. But as there was no shower in his kingdom for twelve years, Śāntanu in his anxiety called the Brāhmaṇas, who told him that the kingdom rightfully belonged to his elder brother Devāpi and to him he should resign. But a plan was however devised. a number of ascetics who taught the doctrines opposed to those of the Vedas were despatched to Devāpi who perverted the understanding of the simple-minded prince, and led him to adopt heretical notions, which had the effect of weakening his (Devāpi) claim to the throne (for he uttered words of disrespect to the authority of the eternal Veda). This paved the way for the legitimate succession of Śāntanu to the throne, who (Śāntanu) now was morally entitled to enjoy the earth (as Devāpi had become degraded) ; Indra in consequence poured down abundant rain. Here we see that the story has been fairly preserved though of course it has been amplified in a Brāhmaṇical tone ; for Devāpi who was a Kṣatriya no longer appears in the hands of these Brāhmaṇical compilers as having capacity to sacrifice for bringing rain, but is represented as a heretic perhaps opposed to Brāhmaṇical pretensions. The story of his heresy is narrated much as in the *Viṣṇu*, in the *Bhagavata* (ix. 22. 14-17) and *Vāyu Purāṇas*. On the same story *Matsya Purāṇa* (50. 39-41) states that he was also leprous and was set aside in favour of his younger brother. Either because of his disease or because of his heretic disposition, according to Hindu Law he could be deposed.¹

So we see that the *Purāṇas* contain legends and stories (*Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*) which are as old and sacred as the Vedic *mantras* themselves. In *Bṛahaddevata* viii. 129 it is said that ' no formula is directly known to any one who is not a seer '. Prof. Macdonell annotates it as follows : ' That is the knowledge of the deities of a formula can only rest on sacred tradition.' The above story clearly explains how the knowledge of the deities of a formula was dependent on a knowledge of the sacred tradition, or in other words, a knowledge of sacred tradition (*Purāṇa*), almost in every case, preceded the knowledge of the deities of a formula, or *mantra* of the Vedas. It may, there-

¹ The story is also to be found in the *Harivaṃśa*, 32, 1822, *Brahma Purāṇa*, 13, 117, *Nirukta*, ii. 10, *Mahābhārata*, v. 148. 5054-66 and in other *Purāṇas* also.

fore, be safely established that some of the Purānic story traditions have an hoary antiquity behind them, and that perhaps they were formed into a branch of Vedic literature as a different class of text with the name *Itihāsa Veda*¹ for furnishing explanation and allusions to the Vedic *mantras* and as such floating contemporaneously with the Vedic hymns.

Let us now take the first and second *Vidyas*, namely, the knowledge of the proper *mantra* and the seer associated with it ; and, as this point involves the knowledge of the allusion in the *mantras* (stories concerning the association of the seer with the *mantra*) ; it can easily be inferred how the Vedic *mantras* contain within themselves *Purāna* stories either expressed or tacit, and which were required for a sacrificer to know. In Prof. Macdonell's *Bṛhaddevatā* the *Purāna* history and the practical utility or *phalaśruti* relating to various *mantras* have been severally set out. I will cite some examples to show the relation of the *Purānas* to the *mantras*, how the story of Dīrghatāmā born blind has been stated in a story form in the fourth chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* (vv. 11-15). It is there stated (v. 16) that some hymns or *mantras* (viz. *Rg Veda*, i. 140-56) were revealed to Dīrghatāmā and he got back his vision. Here we see that the knowledge of the proper *mantra* and the seer associated with it is mingled up with a *Purāna*, i e. sacred tradition or story, and it will no doubt be a great thing to prove that the allusion of the hymn or *mantra* concerned, i.e. the story of Dīrghatāmā is to be found in many *Purānas*. The story merits being given here in extract. In *Bṛhaddevatā* the story runs as follows :—Ucathya and Brhaspati were the two sons of a seer ; the former's wife being Mamatā of the race of Bhrgu. Brhaspati the younger approached her for sexual intercourse, when, at the time of impregnation, the embryo forbid his doing so. At which Brhaspati cursed him saying, ' Long darkness shall be your lot ', and as such Ucathya's son was born with the name Dīrghatāmā (long darkness). As he was distressed at this, the above hymns were revealed to him. The story is further carried in the *Bṛhaddevatā* in verses 21 to 25, where it is said in a most unconnected way that Dīrghatāmā was thrown into a river and the currents drew him into the Anga country and that he begot Kakṣīvat on her. In *Vāyu Purāna* 99. 35 f. the story is to be

¹ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. iv. 3 12-13 ; *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, vii. 1-4,

found in full. There it is stated that Asija and Brhaṣpati,¹ were two brothers, the former's wife being Mamatā. The story proceeds in the same way as in the *Bṛhaddevata* and the child is born with eternal darkness and so was called Dīrghatamā. Then it is stated that Dīrghatamā began to live in the hermitage of his brother, where he practised the practice of kine (*godharma*) from Brsabha, the son of Surabhi, the principles of which led him to approach the wife of his younger brother (Authathya), for sexual intercourse. She refused to yield and cried aloud, at which Śaradavān the seer came to the spot, and realizing the situation became extremely furious and threw away Dīrghatamā into the sea, who, while floating in the currents, was seen by King Bali and his wife. They took him to their palace with great respect. Dīrghatamā being pleased, asked Bali to pray for a boon. Bali requested the sage to procreate sons upon his wife. The story then proceeds in great detail, even beyond limits of decency. The wife of King Bali seeing Dīrghatamā blind and old sent her maid servant as a substitute and through her was born Kakshīb and Cakhūsa. The queen's attempt, however, was frustrated and five sons were born to her. This procreation has, however, been justified by the *Vāyu Purāna*, by creating apparently a new story to the effect that Brahmā in the previous life of Dīrghatamā prohibited him from creating sons through his own wife and as such he has had to create sons in the womb of mortal women. Then we are told that Surabhi being pleased at the loyalty of Dīrghatamā to the practice of kine awarded him his vision. This is the story given by the *Vāyu Purāna*, a version which is most probably the same as it was current in the Vedic times ; for the *Bṛhaddevata* which contains the earliest representation of the story also refers to Dīrghatamā's procreation of a son ; the moral feature of the story is by no means revolting to Vedic morality. The above story is an example of how the Purānic stories can claim an antiquity along with the Vedas. The story is also alluded to in the *Rg Veda*, i. 158. 3, 5 and Vedārtha on *Rg* (vi. 52, i. 116). It is also to be found in the other *Purānas*.² Again we are told in the sixth chapter of the *Bṛhaddevata* (vv. 28, 33, 34), how the seer's (Vasistha) hundred sons had been slain by the followers of Sudāsa, It

¹ For their genealogical setting see Pargiter's *Historical Tradition*, pp 159 f.

² *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna*, iii. 74, 25, f. ; *Matsya Purāna*, 48, 23 f., 49, 17-26, *Harivamśa*, 31. 1684-90 ; *Brahma Purāna*, 13. 29-31, *Bhāgavata Purāna*, ix. 20, 36-8, x. 23, 5 ; *Viṣṇu Purāna*, iv. 18. 1 ; *Mahābhārata*, i. 104, 417 ; 9-92, xii. 343, 13177-84.

has been stated that some hymns or *mantras* (viz. *Rg Veda*, vii. 104. 116 quoted in *Nītimañjarī*) were revealed to the seer for the destruction of demons. It is clear therefore that the knowledge of the seer, who is associated with the *mantra* or rather the knowledge of the origin of the *mantra* which involves the *Purāna* story regarding Sudāsa and Vasiṣṭha was current in the time of the revelation of the above hymn of the *Rg Veda*. And the same story is to be found in many *Purānas*¹ with wide discrepancies and variations centering round the struggle between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and how it was reflected on that of Sudāsa² who was turned into a demon and killed Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons, etc. Unfortunately in the *Purānas*, this story has been greatly mutilated and distorted involving some struggle; but the kernel of the original tradition as we find it in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, namely, that Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons were killed by Sudāsa, has been sufficiently preserved. So we see that the stories as told in the *Bṛhaddevatā* are the ancient systematic collection of legends to be found also in the *Purānas*, bearing some definite connection with regard to the origin of the *mantras* either of composition or of revelation.

I shall now refer to some passages in the *Rg Veda*, to show that some of the hymns contain the fragments of some legends which are to be found in an enlarged form in our *Purānas*. Thus *Rg Veda*, x. 17. 1-2 f. says that Tvastar's daughter Śaranyū had twin sons Yama and Yami to Vivasvat. She foisted upon him another female of the same appearance (Sāvarṇā), and taking the form of a mare fled away. Vivasvat in ignorance begot on the substituted form (Sāvarṇi) Manu.³ But Vivasvat becoming aware of this took the form of a horse and followed her. In this way the two Acvins were born. The same legend is also narrated in the *Viṣṇu Purāna* (ii. 11. 1 f.). In the *Viṣṇu Purāna* the name Saranyū has been changed into Sanjñā, she being

¹ *Viṣṇu*, iv. 4 20-38, *Bhāgavata Purāna*, ix. 9, 18-39, 1. *Lag.* in 63. 83; i. 64, 2-47, *Vāyu*, 1. 175-177, 2 10-11, *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna*, 1. 2, 10-11, *Mahābhārata*, 1. 176 and 177, 182, 6891-6912, *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 65

² For the genealogical setting of Vasiṣṭha and Sudāsa see Pargiter's *Historical Tradition*, pp 207-10.

³ In *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi. 68 it is said that Manu, whom Sāvarṇā obtained as a son from Vivasvat uttered the five hymns (*Rg Veda* viii.) 27-31 addressed to all the Gods and Agni at the laudation. This statement is very important as it establishes the fact that the *Purāna* stories contained in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and which are to be found in the *Purānas* also obviously implies the existence of those stories in the Vedic times, e. g. the story of Sāvarṇā which is referred to in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and at the same time contained in the *Purānas* and in the *Veda* (*Rg*).

the daughter of Viśvakarman and married to the Sun, her offspring being Yama and Yami; and unlike the Vedic tradition, Manu Vaivasvata is born to her. Manu Sāvarṇi is born to her substituted form, to whom Viṣṇu gives the name Chāyā. The same story is told of her secret adoption of forest life. But the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives a clue as to how the Sun came to know of Sanjñā's departure, being the result of an altercation between Yama (son of Sanjñā) and Chāyā, when she discloses the whole secret. The *Matsya Purāṇa* further adds a long story how Yama in the course of the altercation with Chāyā kicked her and so was cursed by her at which he performed austerities, etc., and was made the Yama, i.e. the judge of the dead. But the legend however, proceeds like the Vedic version; the Sun takes the form of a horse, pursues her and begot on her the two Acvins and a third son is also mentioned named Rēvanta.¹ The story is also to be found in other *Purāṇas* such as the *Vāyu* (84. 1 f.), *Agni* (273, 1-5), *Kūrma* (i. 20. 1-4), *Padma* (v. 8. 44, 74), *Varāha* (20. 8), and *Matsya* (11. 2-41), etc. Thus we see that the Vedic *mantras* or hymns contain legends or allusions to legends which fairly agree with those very legends found in the *Purāṇas*. Again regarding the story of Vṛṣākapi which is to be found in the *Brahma Purāṇa*, the late Mr. Pargiter has been able to show (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 803) that the story was current in the Vedic times as is evidenced from the reference contained in the *Rg Veda* (x. 86). Again *Rg Veda*. viii. 19. 36, 37 praise the royal seer Trāsadasyu, and further it is said (36) that, 'adāt pañcāśatam Trāsadasyur Vadhūnam,' etc. Other statements that are contained in the same work seem to give a story that Trāsadasyu Paurukutsya gave Saubhari fifty maidens. The *Bṛahaddevatā* also contains the story in the sixth chapter (vv. 50-57), but there also it is not very clear except that Trāsadasyu gave Saubhari his fifty maidens. It seems, however, that a legend centering round Trāsadasyu and Saubhari was current in the Vedic times. In the *Sāṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* (xvi. 1) and *Āśvalāyana Sūtra* (x. 7) we find mention of an *Itihāsa* with the name Matsya Sāmmada, the story of which is to be found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 2, 19 to 3, 3) where it is said that Saubhari a great sage learned in the Vedas was practising

¹ See *J.A.O.S.*, vol. xv, p. 172. Bloomfield discusses the story at full length and is of opinion that it is not a legend, but practically a riddle, which he explains.

meditation in the waters, when he found this fish Sāmmada playing with his numerous progeny. At this he formed a keen desire to taste the pleasures of such a life and met Māndhātṛ, who gave his fifty daughters in marriage to him. The sage took the daughters with him and made them extremely comfortable, but, gradually perceiving the worthlessness of this worldly life, the sage retired to the forest, etc. It seems therefore that the story of Matsya Sāmmada and that of Saubhari are one and the same. The *Sūtra* mentions it with the name Sāmmada. The *Vedārtha* on *Rg Veda* (viii. 67) also says that he was a fish and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii 4, 3, 12) also says that King Matsya Sāmmada and his people were water dwellers. It might be a fact that the Sāmmada connection in the story of Saubhari is a later addition for neither the *Rg Veda* nor the *Bṛhaddevatā* mention any Sāmmada in connection with Saubhari. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has preserved an *Itihāsa* which, though it has been mingled up with another story, though the name Māndhātṛ has been substituted for that of Trāsadasyu and though the story has also been slightly Brahmanized yet the story is probably the relic of the same story that was current in Vedic times. This ancient *Itihāsa* as it is called, is also to be found in the *Purāṇas* such as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 6. 38-55), *Padma Purāṇa* (vi. 232. 16. 33-82) and *Garuda Purāṇa* (i. 138. 23).

Moreover K. F. Geldner regards a number of *Rg Veda* hymns which postulate a prose narrative, as ballads which are taken from some well-known myth. And these ballads, like a great number of the *Rg Vedic mantras*, are to be understood only by one who knows the old myths, i.e., the old *Itihāsas* from which their theme is taken, which of course obviously implies the existence of those stories or *Itihāsas* at the time of the composition of those ballad *Sūktas*. Thus the 95th *sūkta* of the tenth *mandala* of the *Rg Veda* collection does not explain to us, as to who Purūravas is, and why he is addressing persuasive words to a nymph, implying of course that there is a legend centering round them¹ which we can know from the *verses* 147 f. of the 7th chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* where it is stated that the nymph Urvaśī dwelt with the royal seer Purūravas having made a

¹ With the *Sūkta* an apt parallel may be found as is very rightly suggested by late Mr. Pargiter with Tennyson's 'Dream of Fair Women' where the poet does not explain, but only refers to the many stories and allusions of the fair ladies which of course were sufficiently well known to the poet and his time.

compact with him ; but Indra being jealous asked the bolt at his side to destroy the alliance of the two, who acts accordingly by its craft. The king being distracted with grief began to wander throughout the whole earth in search of her, when one day by chance seeing Urvaśî in a lake surrounded by five beautiful maidens, he began to address, implore and persuade her ' to come back'. With great regret she declined, but consoled him with the prospect of a future union in heaven. The same story in the same strain is told in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 6. 20f) only with a slight enlargement due to the narration of the trick played by the Gandharvas and the unwarranted description of natural beauty and other matters to suit popular taste. There is a variation in one point where the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says that Urvaśî met Purūravas just after one year on that same spot and presented him with a child , and these annual interviews were repeated until she had borne to him five sons. The story is also impliedly referred to in the *Rg Veda* (iv. 2. 18), in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 5. 1), in the Kāṭhaka of Black *Yajur Veda*, in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* ; in the *Sarvānukramanî* of the *Rg Veda* and also in almost all the *Purāṇas*.¹ The famous Indian dramatist Kālidāsa has taken the story to write one of his dramas. This Purāṇic story therefore was current in the Vedic times and it is a noteworthy fact that Sāyana calls it a typical *Purāṇa* (*S.B.E.*, vol. xlv, p. 98).

Next regarding the story of Vasiṣṭha's birth it may be said that the Vedic hymns contain direct reference to the story which the *Bṛhaddevatā* narrates so far as it has any connection with the explanation of the Vedic hymn concerned. Vasiṣṭha, the author of the two *parjanya* hymns (vi. 101, 102) and also the seer of some hymns is called the son of Urvaśî in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (ii. 37. 44. 156; iii. 56), which suggests that there is a tale relating to Urvaśî and Vasiṣṭha. The story appears in *Bṛhaddevatā*, v. 149-55, which are quoted by Sāyana on *Rg Veda*, vii. 33. 11. Accordingly in the *Rg Veda* the story is to be found where it is said that Mitra and Varuṇa's seed on seeing Urvaśî fell into a jar and there Vasiṣṭha and Agastya was born. In the *Rg Veda* (vii. 33. 13) Māna appears to be the name of Agastya which is supported and explained by the *Bṛhaddevatā* in v. 153 of chapter 5, and about Vasiṣṭha it is thus said in the *Rg Veda* (vii. 33. 11) ' *Viṣve devāḥ puṣkarē Tvādadanta* ' which is explained by Yāska,

¹ *Vayu*, 91. 4-52, *Brahmāṇḍa*, vol. iii, 66. 4-22, *Brahma*, 10. 4-8, *Harivaṃśa*, 26. 1366-70, *Matsya Purāṇa*, 24. 24. 34, *S.B.E.*, vol. xlvi, pp. 318, 323-4.

Nirukta (v. 14) and also by the *Bṛhaddevatā* (v. 154, 155) where it is said that when the waters of the jar were taken out Vasiṣṭha was found standing on a lotus and all the Gods supported it. Thus we see that the *Bṛhaddevatā* by way of furnishing an explanation of an allusion in the Vedic hymns narrates a story regarding the birth of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha due to Urvaśī and Mitravaruṇa and which is also referred to in the *Nirukta* (v. 13); and *Sarvānukramaṇī* (i. 166). It is quite in keeping with the antiquity of most of the Purāṇic story traditions that the story of Vasiṣṭha's birth is to be found in most of the *Purāṇas*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (61. 26-31, 36, 50; 201. 23-9) it is said that Viṣṇu while performing austerities incurred the fear of Indra who sent Kāma and Madhu to disturb his penance. But their attempt was frustrated when Viṣṇu produced from his thigh a far more beautiful nymph than themselves called Urvaśī, the aggressive beauty of whose figure excited the love and lust of Mitra and Varuṇa, who followed her, but only to be refused. Here the *Purāṇa* introduces a link to the famous story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, by saying that because Urvaśī yielded to Varuṇa and refused Mitra, Mitra cursed her to the effect that she will have to go to the mortal world and satisfy her lust with Purūravas. However the main story is continued: the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa falls into a jar and Vasiṣṭha and Agastya take their birth. Here our *Purāṇa* again introduces another ancient story to explain the birth of Vasiṣṭha from Mitra and Varuṇa, whence he is named Maitrāvaruṇī. It is said that King Nimi had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha (of course in previous life) and they cursed each other to become bodiless. Both of them went to Brahmā who assigned the eyes of the creatures to Nimi, whence people wink; and further said that Vasiṣṭha would be born as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa. This is the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha contained in our *Matsya Purāṇa*, which is as ancient as the Vedic *mantras*. The story is also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.¹

Again the well-known story of *Rg Veda*, x. 8 and x. 61. 8, namely, the killing of the demon Vṛtra and Namuci by Indra is also to be found narrated in our *Purāṇas*, though of course the story has been tampered with by the Brāhmaṇical compilers, as Indra in the *Purāṇas* incurs the sin of Brāhmaṇicide by killing Vṛtra. But the story is to be

¹ *Padma Purāṇa*, v. 22, 29-34, 37-40; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 5. 6; *Mahābhārata*, xiii. 158, 7372, *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 56. 12-23; 57. 1-9.

found in almost the same way as in the Vedas. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (vi. 7) it is related how Tvāṣṭa's son Viśvarūpa was appointed as a priest of the Devas—how he was partially disposed towards the relatives of his mother's side and how Indra killed his three heads, at which Tvāṣṭa became furious and created a ferocious demon named Vṛtra who had a long and fearful fight with Indra in which Vṛtra was killed. The story is also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.¹ Evidently therefore we see that some of the *Purāṇic* stories were current in the Vedic times.

Again in the *Nīlmañjurī* (97–102), and by Śaḍguruśiṣya (97–101) is quoted the story of the birth of Bhṛgu and Angiras, etc., as an introduction to *Rg Veda* vi which is also narrated in the *Brhaddevatā* (v. 97–101). The story, therefore, was closely associated with *Rg Veda* vi and as such is ancient as the hymns themselves. The story in the *Brhaddevatā* runs as follows :—Prajāpati desirous of offspring offered a sessional sacrifice in which came Vāc, at the sight of whom the semen of Prajāpati and Varuṇa was effused. Vāyu then scattered it in the fire and from the flame was born Bhṛgu ; and the seer Angiras from the coals. The story is also to be found in the *Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (i. 3. 8–19). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (65. 40) also contains this story with this difference that in place of Vāc several celestial ladies have been introduced and that the semen was scattered in fire not by Vāyu, but by Brahmā himself. In this way it can be proved that many of the stories that are contained in our present *Purāṇas* are as old as the Vedas having a currency in that age.

There are again other stories in the *Purāṇas*, which cannot claim any hoary antiquity like the stories shown above but are fairly ancient as they are often alluded to in the *Brāhmanas*, *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. Thus the story of the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 4. 3. 5, 5. 1. 5), and as is well-known, most of the *Purāṇas* narrate it associating it with the churning of the ocean, when Viṣṇu in the form of a tortoise supported the churning stick. Again in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (vii. 1. 5. 1f; i. 1. 3. 5f.) and also in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*

¹ *Mahābhārata*, v. 12, 411–13, xii. 283, 10153–200, *Rāmāyāna*, vii. 85. 19, 86. 2; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 122. 48–49, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 68. 34–6, *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 6. 35–7; *Padma Purāṇa*, v. 37 and 38, vi. 263. 19–21, *Matsya Purāṇa*, 172–178, *Harivamśa*, 43–9.

(xiv. 1, 2, 11) we have distinct references to the Boar's lifting the earth showing thereby the currency of the Boar incarnation tradition in the time of the Brāhmanas, though of course in the *Purānas* the story has been enlarged and amplified. The story of the Fish incarnation, i.e. the Indian legend of flood also appears in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (i. 8. 1) which is perhaps the oldest version of the story, where it is said that Manu when washing his hands in a river a fish came into his hands which advised him to rear it if he wants to be rescued from the coming flood, and the fish also gives directions as to the way in which it should be reared. The story proceeds, the fish became bigger and bigger until it required the sea to live in. The flood came and Manu, as directed, built a ship in which he retired and the ship was dragged by the fish through the flood and thus Manu was saved. It need not be told here that this ancient legend is to be found in many of our *Purānas*, though of course it is absolutely a different question as to the form in which the story is to be found. There may be discrepancies and variations in the Purāṇic versions of this legend, but all these discrepancies and variations may easily be eliminated without distorting the more authentic tradition that is preserved in some form or other in our present *Purānas*. Again it strikes us that the Purāṇic story of the dwarf incarnation was current in some form or other in the Vedic times as is suggested by Colebrooke from the mention of Viṣṇu as Trivikrama in the *Rg Veda* (i. 22. 16-21). This tale of Viṣṇu's dwarf incarnation is also to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (i. 2. 5. 1. f), where Viṣṇu is represented as a dwarf, as having under the form of a sacrifice conquered the whole earth. The story is also to be found in the *Ramāyaṇa* (i. 31. 2 f), *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan*, vv. 484 f) and besides these, in almost all the *Purānas* where the story is amplified in a highly sectarian tone. The story of Janamējaya II who injured the Rṣi Gārgya in consequence of which he was cursed, but was relieved of the curse by Indrota who performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice on his behalf, is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (xiii. 5, 4, 1), *Sāṅkhayana Śrauta Sūtra* (xvi. 9. 7) and in *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (iii 3). It is also to be found in almost the same form, in the present *Purānas* such as in the *Vāyu Purāna* (93. 21-6), *Brahmānda Purāna* (iii. 68. 20-6) and *Brahma Purāna* (12. 9-15), etc. Regarding the story of Yayāti which is narrated in almost all the *Purānas*, Dr. Winternitz has shown that it

existed at the time of Patañjali; for Patañjali (*Pāṇini*, iv. 2. 60) teaches the formation of the word 'Yāyātika', i.e. one who knows the story of Yayāti. Many stories from *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* have also been known to us through the efforts of Professor Ortel, some of which have been preserved in our *Purāṇas*, while others have been lost; while, by a stratification of the Purāṇic cosmogony it can be shown that almost all the Purāṇic stories in connection with cosmogony were current in the Brāhmanic and some in the Vedic period.

There are again other evidences in support of the antiquity of the Purāṇic story traditions. Very often in our *Purāṇas* we find that legends and tales are alluded to with the expression 'Iti-Śrūta', which surely evinces their acquaintance with a prior and ancient narration. Moreover the *Ślokas* which the *Purāṇas* interpose regarding the story of some famous hero as being sung by the *Paurāṇikas* in ancient times, e.g. in the case of Hiranyakaśipu (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 67. 64) and Dattātrēya (*Vāyu*, 70. 76) and Alarka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 92. 66), are manifestly quotations from older metrical versions which have been saved from the original bard poetry and incorporated in our *Purāṇas*, the antique currency of which we must not doubt but take for granted. Similarly very often in the *Purāṇas* we meet with old heroic songs and *Ślokas* which are quoted to illustrate the deeds and conduct of any particular hero with the expression 'atīṭhy udaharantīmān Ślokaṃ Paurāṇikā-purāṇ' which are said to have been recited by the *Paurāṇikajanas* or *Vaṁśavīḍas*, e.g. in the case of Trisanku (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 14; *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 63. 113), Mādhātṛ (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 67-69; *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 63, 69-70), Bhagīratha (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 169), Mūlaka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 178), Ahuka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 96. 121), etc. These old heroic songs whose existence and antiquity we must take for granted are to be found in remnants and fragments in our *Purāṇas*, thus establishing the antiquity of many of the Paurāṇic stories connected with the *Ślokas*. Many of the song verses (*Gāthās*)¹ and very old *Anuvamśaślokas*² concerning the deeds of some persons which were narrated by the *Paurāṇikas* have also been preserved.

¹ E.g. regarding Rāma, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 191; Devavṛddha, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 96. 13; Yayāti, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 93. 94; Kārtavīrya, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 94. 19, Dhruva, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 62. 80.

² Regarding Śaśabindu, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95. 19.
Also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.

Thus the incorporation of all these very old songs, *verses*, *gāthas*, and *slokas* centering round, and relating to the heroes of our Paurāṇic *Akhyānas*, *Udāharanas* and *Itihāsas* or whatever we may call them, almost inevitably and undoubtedly stamps on the Purāṇic stories an air of antiquity.

The extent to which the Vedic *mantras* contain legends or allusions to legends, and which are retained in the *Bṛhaddevatā* but completely represented in the *Purānas* have been explained. It cannot be denied of course that in some cases the stories have been perverted and distorted; but that does not in any way go against the contemporaneous currency with the Vedic hymns of the original traditions of all the Purāṇic stories as has been shown. I have explained how the knowledge of the seer and the proper *mantra*, involving the knowledge of the *Purāna* stories connecting them, was imperatively required on the part of a Brāhmaṇa to know, which very reasonably leads us to suppose that alongside with the Vedic *mantras* there was left a sufficient and necessary room for the compilation of these sacred story tradition into a class of text called the *Itihāsa Veda* or the *Purāṇa Veda*,¹ for furnishing explanation, annotation and allusion to the Vedic *mantras*. From Yāska's *Nirukta* we learn that there was a Vedic school known as the Aitihāsikas so named because its members made use of the ' *Itihāsa* ' in expounding the *mantras*. The *Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra* (xxvii. 6) and the *Mahabhārata* (1. 1. 267) also testify to this; while the *Vāyu Purāna* (1. 181) says that by *Itihāsa* and *Purāna* one should supplement the Veda, etc.; all these evidences are I think sufficient to show that *Itihāsa* and Purāṇic stories, or rather the *Itihāsas* and *Purānas* were inseparably connected with the explanation of the Vedic *mantras*, and this is also supported by Duṛga on *Nirukta*, i. 5 (ll. 58. 21 f). If such evidences are forthcoming towards the possibility of a Vedic antiquity for most of the Purāṇic stories, having the merit of explanatory theses as has been shown, it is very difficult to deny the existence of a sort of a class or text dealing with a certain kind of learning in stories called the *Itihāsa Veda* or the *Purāna Veda* in ancient India, floating contemporaneously with the Vedas, from which perhaps the present *Purānas* have derived the stories.

¹ The paper does not allow me to discuss the relation and connector between *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*.

A Forgotten Hero¹

SOME NOTES ON THE LIFE AND WORK OF CSOMA
DE KOROS, TRAVELLER AND SCHOLAR (1784-1842)

BY

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IN the annals of Oriental scholarship, few stories can compare with that of the little Hungarian scholar Csoma de Koros who, in the early years of the nineteenth century, travelled on foot, alone and penniless, from his village in Hungary to the heart of Tibet in the pursuit of knowledge ultimately, like so many of his kind, giving his life as the price of his acquirements. De Koros was content to die as he had lived, obscure and penniless, labouring to the end. It is in the hope that his name may be rescued from undeserved oblivion that this paper has been written. Of the value of Tibetan for the study of Sanskrit and Prakrit, and especially Buddhist literature, there is no need to speak here. Before Koros, Tibetan was practically unknown. The heroic party of Capuchin friars who visited Lhasa in 1719 brought away materials from which the Augustan friar, Georgi of Rimini, compiled his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome 1762), a 'ponderous and confused compilation' full of mistakes. In 1820 Abel Remusat devoted to Tibetan a chapter of his *Recharches Sur les langues Tartares*, and in 1826, Csoma's friend, John Marshman, issued from the Serampore press a dictionary, or rather a collection of sentences, made by an unknown Italian Missionary. It was, therefore, the beginning of a new era in Oriental scholarship, when in 1834, Csoma de Koros published his *Dictionary, Thibetan and English*, and his *Grammar of the Tibetan language in English* admirable works as regards the literary Tibetan of the Buddhist translations which have never been superseded.

On a bright spring morning, a Sunday, in the year of grace 1819, two friends might have been seen walking along the Nagy Szeben

¹ Paper read before the Fifth Oriental Conference in November 1928.

road in Transylvania. Presently they stopped and parted. One went sorrowfully back; the other, 'an expression of joyful serenity shining in his eyes, as if he were wending his steps towards a long-desired goal,' strode on eagerly alone. It was Csoma de Koros. Frail and short in build, he was inspired, nevertheless with the spirit of the old Magyar nobility whose blood ran in his veins. An accomplished linguist, he had, when a student, obtained a travelling scholarship with which he had proceeded to Gottingen. Here the glamour of Oriental research had first captivated him. Among the many problems which, in the infancy of these studies, afforded fascinating themes for speculation to the imaginative mind, the question of the origin of the Hungarian race had attracted his notice. He imagined that many Hungarian names and words were of Eastern origin. To collect information which would throw light upon these problems was the first object of his journey. Afterwards his original quest was lost sight of in those Tibetan studies for which he will be ever remembered by scholars. 'Though the study of the Tibetan language,' he writes in the preface to his Dictionary, 'did not form part of my original plan, but was only suggested after I had been led by Providence into Thibet, and had enjoyed an opportunity of learning of what sort and origin the Thibetan literature was, I cheerfully engaged in the study of it, hoping that it might serve me as a vehicle to my immediate purpose, namely, my researches respecting the language and origin of the Hungarians.' Csoma's equipment for the journey was not a large one,—a wallet containing a few books, some shirts and the sum of one hundred florins in cash! At first he went no further than Croatia, where he spent some months in working at Slavonic dialects; this done, he pushed on, sometimes alone and on foot and sometimes in the company of merchants' caravans, to Constantinople, whence he took boat to Alexandria. Here he settled down for some time to the study of Arabic, a language which, he had been told by the great Eichhorn, under whom he had read at Gottingen, would throw much light upon the darker pages of mediæval European History. But plague was raging in Alexandria and our traveller was forced to leave the city. Taking a coasting vessel, he made his way to Aleppo, and from Aleppo to Bagdad. From Bagdad he journeyed with a caravan to Teheran, where he spent the winter of 1820–1821, learning Persian and English and receiving much kindness from Sir Henry Willock

the British representative in that city. Here the real perils of the journey seemed about to begin. Rumours of a Russian force in Central Asia made it impossible to venture, without grave risk, on a journey through Turkestan. The only alternative was to strike southwards to the Khyber, cross the Panjab and then, turning north, to march through Cashmere and Thibet. Somewhere on the Central Asian plateau Csoma hoped to find the goal of his researches. The undertaking was a vast one. Before him lay the dangerous passes of the Indian frontier, the ferocious tribesmen of Afghanistan, the vast Empire of Ranjit Singh, and all the lofty, unexplored mountains of the Eastern Himalayas. The journey was one calculated to appal the stoutest heart, but Csoma faced it without flinching. That he realized the perils which lay before him is shown by the fact that, before setting out, he left with his hosts a packet containing the only possessions by which he set any store. These were his University diplomas. In case he perished, they were to be returned to his native village.

One of the few faults which we can find with Csoma de Koros is the modesty with which he regards his achievements. His adventures he never considered worthy of record. His brief letter written to the British Government from Sabathu merely states that he crossed the Bamian Pass in January 1822, arrived at Lahore in March, and pushed on through Cashmere to Leh early in June. It was here that an event occurred of the utmost importance to Csoma's future career; he met the ill-fated traveller, William Moorcroft, who spent many years in exploring the North-Western Frontier of India, gaining valuable information for Government, till his untimely death from fever in the remote regions of Bokhara in 1825. It was Moorcroft who lent him a rough Thibetan dictionary, compiled nearly a century before by a Catholic priest. From this dictionary Csoma first began to comprehend the extent of the vast, unexplored field of Thibetan literature, which he was destined to make his life study. Fascinated by the new language and the mysterious tomes in the monasteries he had visited, Csoma, armed with Moorcroft's recommendations, made his way to the remote monastery of Zangla in the Ladak district and there, cut off from the world by countless ranges of towering mountains, and buried for months by the drifting snow, with no companions but a few silent monks, he worked for nearly a year and a half. Dr. Gerard of the Indian

Medical Service, who visited Csoma in Tibet in 1827, gives a vivid description of how the heroic scholar spent that awful year. Of his suffering Csoma himself says absolutely nothing. 'He, the Lama (his tutor), and an attendant,' says Dr. Gerard, 'were circumscribed in an apartment nine feet square for three or four months; they durst not stir out, the ground being covered with snow, and the temperature below the zero of the scale. There he sat, enveloped in a sheepskin cloak, with his arms folded, and in this situation he read from morning till evening without fire, or light after dusk, the ground to sleep on and the bare walls of the building for protection against the rigours of the climate. The cold was so intense as to make it a task of severity to extricate the hands from their fleecy resort to turn over the pages. Some idea of the climate of Zanskar may be formed from the fact that on the day of the summer solstice a fall of snow covered the ground; and so early as September 10 following, when the crops were yet uncut, the soil was again sheeted in snow; such is the horrid aspect of the country and its eternal winter.'

Late in November 1824, a strange figure, clad in a rough native blanket, appeared at Sabathu, a little military post on the lower spurs of the Himalayas, a few miles from Simla. It was Csoma, returned from far beyond the snow-clad peaks which may be seen like a vast rampart to the north of the town. Captain Kennedy, the Commandant, under the orders of the Political Agent of Ambala, was forced to detain his strange visitor, pending instructions from the Government of India. This precaution, though regrettable, was rendered necessary by the fact that Russia was known to be busy in Central Asia, and to be in communication both with Ranjit Singh and the Afghans. Csoma himself had been employed by Moorcroft to translate an intercepted letter from the St. Petersburg Government to the Sikh monarch. The suspicion thus cast upon him, however, deeply wounded the sensitive spirit of the Hungarian. Fortunately the Indian authorities, impressed by Moorcroft's recommendation and by the elaborate programme drawn up by De Koros himself, decided, not only to allow the traveller to return to Thibet, but to give him a grant of fifty rupees a month in order to enable him to prosecute his studies. And so, in June 1825, Csoma once more took the road. Less than two years later, in January 1827, he returned, deeply mortified. 'I have wasted time and money,' he declared pathetically. Above all, he conceived that his

honour, 'dearer to him than the making of his fortune,' had been sullied. He had failed to fulfil his contract to the Indian Government, for the second expedition to Thibet had not been an unqualified success. His tutor, the Llama who had read with him on his first visit, had become wearied by his pupil's thirst for knowledge. His patience, perhaps his stock of learning, was exhausted, and he had performed his duties in an indolent and perfunctory fashion. Csoma was heart-broken. He declared he would take nothing more from his patrons, and humbly begged leave to go to Calcutta to place before the Royal Asiatic Society such remnants as he had managed to secure, in order to prove that he was not altogether a fraud. These 'Remnants' were a large and beautifully written Thibetan dictionary, materials for a complete grammar of the language, and an immense mass of manuscripts and many printed volumes, bearing upon Thibetan philosophy, religion, astronomy, and other sciences. Any other scholar would have been proud of such results.

In June 1827, Captain Kennedy notified to Csoma that the Government, far from being displeased with his achievements, were prepared to renew his salary for three years, in order to enable him to proceed to Besarh in Thibet for the further prosecution of his studies. It was here, at Kanum, that his friend, Dr. Gerard, found him in the midst of his labours, 'in his small but romantic hamlet'. 'The cold is very intense,' writes his friend, 'and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval for recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal round of greasy tea. His chief repast is tea, in the Tartar fashion, which is indeed more like soup, the butter and salt mixed in its preparation leaving no flavour of tea. It is a repast at once greasy and nourishing, and being easily made, it is very convenient in such a country' (Gerard's letter to the Commissioner of Delhi, January 21, 1829). Csoma had now been working a year; he had in that time completed a vocabulary of forty thousand words, and had read through forty-four books of the great Thibetan Encyclopædia the *Stangyur*, consisting of two hundred and twenty-five ponderous volumes, each of from five hundred to seven hundred pages. His hut was at the elevation of 9,500 feet above the sea-level, and its single room containing no furniture save books and 'two rustic benches and a couple of rude chairs'. He was two hundred miles from Sabathu,

and his scanty salary left nothing over, to be spent on the most ordinary luxuries. Even mutton, stored in abundance in all the monasteries, was beyond his reach. Of his fifty rupees, half went to the Llama, and five more were spent upon house rent and his servant. Of the remaining twenty, most were expended in the purchase of books, manuscripts and writing materials. Yet, in spite of his poverty, Csoma, with all the pride of a Hungarian noble, refused haughtily the smallest offer of assistance. His pittance, at which the humble clerk of to-day would look askance, was ample for his needs, and his only anxiety was to finish his task and repay his patrons. Of worldly affairs he cared nothing. Dr. Gerard tells us how he offered to supply him with the English papers, thinking to enliven his solitude thereby. Csoma returned a polite refusal. Firstly, he said, they had no interest for him : and secondly, he did not wish to be thought to have wasted his employer's time ! For four winters he worked on thus with his Pandit, ' a man of vast acquirements,—a singular union of learning, modesty and greasy habits '. It was about this time that one of the many proposals to increase his salary was made, at the instance of his friend. Csoma rejected the offer with some acerbity, his sensitive soul stung by what he considered a tardy recognition of his achievements. Orientalists are jealous folk, and there was a disposition to sneer in some quarters at this unknown savant, and his strange stories of a new literature. In Wilson and Prinsep, however, Csoma had two enduring friends, noble scholars who perceived the sterling qualities underlying the little Hungarian's outward testiness.

The year 1831 saw Csoma at last at Calcutta, hard at work editing his spoils. Government had generously undertaken to bring out his dictionary at public expense. The great work was finished early in 1834, and in the following years, armed with the necessary passports, Csoma made an extensive tour in Bengal, studying Bengali, Sanskrit, and other Indian tongues. Of this period we have no records ; but in 1837 we find him back in Calcutta, as Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, still working away at his Thibetan manuscripts. Of his extraordinary frugality and industry we have testimony of a most interesting and pathetic kind. His infinitesimal salary of fifty rupees a month was more than sufficient for his wants. Except for the first two months, he never troubled to draw the extra fifty which had been allotted to him, and at his death he was actually found to have saved

a considerable sum ! It was calculated that the fourteen years which he had spent in research had cost Government a little over four thousand rupees, or about three hundred rupees a year. 'He lives like a hermit among his Thibetan and other works,' writes a compatriot. 'Of an evening he takes slight exercise in the grounds ; and then he causes himself to be locked up in his apartment : it therefore invariably happens that when, during my evening rides, I called upon him, it was necessary to wait a while till the servants produced the keys to unlock the doors of his apartments.' Another writer speaks of him as 'absorbed in fantastic thoughts, smiling at the course of his own ideas, taciturn like the Brahmins who, bending over their writing desks, are employed in copying texts of Sanskrit. His room had the appearance of a cell, which he never left except for short walks in the corridors of the building.' Writing after his death, Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling, says, 'His effects consisted of four boxes of books and papers, the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died, a few sheets, and one cooking pot. His food was confined to tea, of which he ate very little. On a mat on the floor with a box of books on the four sides, he sat, ate, slept and studied, never undressed at night, and rarely went out during the day. He never drank wine or spirits or used tobacco or other stimulants.' But Csoma was not content with his achievements. To remain inactive, now that he had fulfilled his pledge to the British Government and had finished sorting the material he collected, was abhorrent to his ardent, restless soul. Before his eyes gleamed the golden roofs of the monasteries of mysterious Llassa, with their stores of vast, unrecorded literature ; beyond, in the far distance, lay the limitless Chinese Empire, with still further unexplored literary and linguistic treasures ; and there, who knows, hidden in the impenetrable bosom of the steppes of Central Asia, might be found the convincing, final proofs of the origin of the Hungarian race. Csoma was now fifty-eight, weather-beaten and worn by privation, exposure, and excessive study. 'I began to suspect,' says the traveller we have quoted already, 'that he would never see his native land again, being then already advanced in age ; and yet he proposed remaining for ten years longer in the country, to enable him to glean whatever he could find in the old writings, and such a secluded, one could almost call it a prison life, might soon undermine the powers of any constitution and leave but a mere

shadow of an existence.' Csoma himself perhaps felt that the journey might be his last one, for before leaving he wrote a letter to the Royal Asiatic Society making them his executors. But he set out cheerfully, crossed the malarious Terai on foot, and arrived at Darjeeling on March 24. Here he remained for some days, while negotiations were opened with the Raja of Sikkim, to enable him to cross the frontier and make his way towards Llassa. The envoy of the Raja was astounded at finding a foreigner who could talk his language like a native, and who knew more of its literature than he did himself. Everything was progressing in a most favourable manner, and Csoma was in a state of great excitement. 'What would not Hodgson, Turnour, and some of the philosophers of Europe, not give to be in my place when I get to Llassa?' he often exclaimed. But Csoma was bound for no earthly goal. On April 6, he developed fever, contracted doubtless on his way through the Terai. His poor, worn body offered little resistance to the disease, and five days later, a martyr to the cause of knowledge, he set out upon his last journey. And there, beneath the fragrant deodars, and within sight of the delectable mountains, his body lies beneath a massive tomb in Darjeeling cemetery. Csoma's character was a strange mixture of diffidence and pride, of gentleness and a certain rough irritability. Utterly selfless as far as his studies were concerned, he went through countless perils in their pursuit, with complete indifference. Of his travels, except so far as they throw light upon his researches, he has left absolutely no record. He would not imagine that they would interest anyone. 'What a pity it is,' a contemporary exclaims, 'that a scientific mind like his was so little given to writing except his special study!' On the amenities of social life he looked with the utmost contempt. He speaks scornfully of the way in which, during his sojourn at Sabathu, he was, 'treated as a fool, alternately caressed and ridiculed.' He invariably refused to stay with Government and military officials, preferring to live among the natives and to study their language and habits. He was determined that as a scholar the world should recognize his merits, and for this end, 'the last infirmity of noble minds,' he worked unceasingly. Extraordinarily sensitive about his personal honour, he refused peremptorily any gift which had the slightest suspicion of charity. The somewhat tardy recognition of his merits by the Royal Asiatic Society brought from him a reproof

of the like of which we must go back to Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield. 'In 1823,' he writes, 'when I was in Kashmir, being destitute of books, Mr. Moorcroft on my behalf had requested you to send me certain necessary works. I have never received any I was neglected for six years. Now under such circumstances and projects, I shall want no books.' Above all, he never forgot or forgave, inspite of his very real gratitude to Government for their sympathy and help, the affront offered to him when he first entered Sabathu. Under the circumstances, as we have seen, it was not unnatural that newcomers, especially foreigners, when found wandering about the frontier, should be treated with some suspicion at that period. But Csoma was mortally offended. He had been called a spy. His honour had been called in question. Inspite of all explanations, he stuck to his point, and never forgot the supposed 'insult' till his dying day. He refers to it in every letter he wrote to Government and mentioned it, years afterwards in the preface to his Dictionary. He even went so far as to send all his foreign correspondence unsealed and written in Latin, to the Royal Asiatic Society to examine before it was posted! His eccentric temper tried the patience of the good-natured Kennedy, who writes on one occasion, 'he is a man of most sanguine, hasty, and suspicious disposition. I have left no act undone to accommodate and to meet his wishes, and I think he feels grateful to me; but on some occasions he has received my advances to be obliging with a meanness not to be accounted for.' But to his intimates—to those who really took an interest in his work and his aspirations,—he appeared in a very different light. 'He was cheerful,' says one of his countrymen who visited him in 1837, 'often merry; his spirits rose very considerably when he took the opportunity of talking about Hungary. Altogether, I found him very talkative, and if he once started on this strain there was no getting to the end of it.' 'I used to delight in his company,' wrote Dr. Malan 'he was so kind and so obliging, and always willing to impart all he knew.'

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield was Csoma's motto. And if he, too, is to be reckoned among the world's faithful failures, let us not forget the noble saying that *to travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive and the true success is to labour,*

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

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V

I. THE THIRD ATTACK ON FORT ST. DAVID AND AFTER

THE Diarist describes in great detail the forces that proceeded from Pondicherry on March 11, 1747, under the command of MM. de la Tour and Paradis and their repulse of an English force near the boundary hedge of Fort St. David. The shots of the French cannon were more effective and their *Coffre* troops escalated the Uppalavadi battery with ladders and drove back the enemy sepoy from that post. The French force subsequently attacked the English Garden-House at Manjakuppam whither the English had retired after their defeat and occupied it. Just when all the French troops, soldiers, *Coffres*¹ and Mahe sepoy, made ready to proceed to assault the Fort, a sentinel descried seven ships making for the anchorage and carrying the English flag. Thereupon the French officers held a council of war and decided that they should immediately retreat, since Pondicherry would be in a helpless condition should the English ships proceed thither. In their hasty retreat, chests of powder were thrown into water; cannon were spiked or otherwise similarly disposed of; bags of rice were ripped open and their contents flung into wells; and casks of brandy were staved in and their liquor was allowed to flow away. The troops however repulsed a body of pursuers and reached Pondicherry safely on the evening of the 13th. According to the Fort St. David *Consultations*, dated March 1 and 2 (old style), the English defended the line of the Pennar for a whole day; and the French had

¹ A term applied first by Arabs and then by Portuguese to the black Negro troops who were then largely employed (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (1921), p. 141).

to retire in haste. According to the Diarist, 'If the English fleet had arrived but two days later, the French who had advanced well-equipped and with great energy, would undoubtedly have captured Fort St. David and have hoisted their white flag on it.'¹

After the English fleet arrived with the British squadron and saved Fort St. David from threatened capture, the seas were practically closed to French trade and remained so till the end of the war.² The squadron which was under the command of Commodore Griffin ought to have reached the Coromandel Coast in the previous year, but had wintered at Achin and reached Bengal only in December, where it was again delayed by some needed repairs. But the English ships were not sufficiently manned and any attack by them on Pondicherry was out of the question; and 'the utmost he could do was to blockade the French settlement and keep Dupleix inactive.'

Meanwhile Dupleix continued to ingratiate himself with the Muhammadan *killedars* of the neighbourhood, like Mudāmiah, the deputy of Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah who had a *jaghir* in Chidambaram, Shaikh Ahmad of Porto Novo which was a large weaving centre for blue cloth which was exported largely to Bourbon, Achin and other places, and Muhammad Ali Khan, the brother of Chanda Sahib and the *faujdar* of Polur. He had also a new seal in Persian prepared for his use, the titles in which ran as follows: 'Acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the Victorious in Battle, He who is called Monsieur Dupleix, the Governor-General of Pondicherry, whose sway extends over Hindustan (i.e. the Governor of all the *French* in India), renowned for his

¹ He declared to Dupleix that Fort St David should have been seized as soon as Madras was captured, as 'it was a snake at the head of our bed which must not be allowed to remain,' and that it would have been easier to have succeeded in the attempt while the French ships were still on the coast. He was confident that, with the coming of good times to Dupleix after April, the Fort would certainly fall.

² 'From time to time news came which made Dupleix hope to be able to renew the languishing commerce of the settlement, but the English squadrons were too tenacious and too pervasive for these hopes to be realized' - *Dodwell*. The truth was that Pondicherry was depleted of its defence by the necessity of detaching a considerable force to garrison the captured city of Madras, while English ships hindered the importation of food-grains from the fertile northern coasts and 'formed a perpetual menace to both Madras and Pondicherry, should they find either stripped of its garrison' (*vide* Introduction to vol. iv of the *Diary*, p. vi, and *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 23).

valour and success in arms.' ¹ The Nawab was displeased with French attack on Fort St. David made without his special sanction and after, as he alleged, Dupleix had promised in the course of the previous negotiations not to attack it; and a letter had to be written to Husain Sahib at Arcot that it was the English that first molested some Frenchmen coming from Arcot and made prisoners of some of them and also attacked a French detachment coming from Karikal and plundered some of the French villages. It concluded, 'Can they (English) do as they please, while we must remain quiet without doing anything? . . . Will you give them the necessary orders, or shall we do as we think best?' ² Muhammad Tavakkal wrote a letter asking that the French troops should be at once recalled from Fort St. David, if they had not already been; and that this was the reason why the *parwana* for the four villages already granted was being withheld by the Nawab. Muhammad Ali Khan, the son of the Nawab, was suspected of unfriendly feelings and designs; and an attempt was made to propitiate him by the gift of a gold-laced hat.

II. AFFAIRS IN FORT ST. DAVID AND IN MADRAS

Turning to the position of the English at Fort St. David, the Diarist recorded, under date March 27, 1747, that huge ramparts were being built round the Fort, and the Gadilam was to be turned in its course so as to flow south of the Fort straight into the sea, instead of bending away as it did to the south-east. A mint was opened at the Fort 'which was crowded with merchants and *dubashes* from Madras'; fresh earthworks were built at the bound-hedge and near the Fort. ³

¹ The Diarist adds that the inscription was the same as the old one, with the addition, 'Muzaffar Jang Bahadur' meaning, 'the valorous and successful in arms' (vol. iv, p. 11)

² In this connection the Diarist was charged with having told Muhammad Tavakkal in the course of the preceding negotiations that Fort St. David would not be attacked. Dupleix did not believe it, and Ranga Pillai maintained that all that he expressed was that Dupleix would not listen to anything, and that he and the English must settle their disputes in their own way, and that the French could do nothing except under orders from Europe. He finally convinced Dupleix that such a promise on the part of the French should have been invented by Tavakkal himself in order to get out of a difficulty (pp. 14-16 of vol. iv of the *Diary*).

³ Mr. Dodwell says that this entry as regards the fortifications is highly anticipative, as it was not resolved according to the Fort St. David Consultations of 1747 to make alterations in the defences until March 30 = April 10, and to turn the Tevanampatnam (Gadilam) river until April 25 to May 6. (*The Diary*, vol. iv, p. 41, foot-note 2.)

There were more than 1,500 men on board the English ships who were employed in the works. Guns were mounted and soldiers posted at Cuddalore where the English women and children from Madras were being sheltered. Contrasting this with the sorry spectacle of Madras under French rule, the Diarist lamented that the town (Madras) was going to ruin under an incapable governor (Duvald' Espréménil) and under the evil influence of Madame Dupleix who had been poking her nose into the affairs of Madras merchants.¹ The English ships

¹ 'It surprises me that though such a town as Madras has newly fallen into our hands, yet no intelligent and suitable man has been appointed to guard and keep it in order. As the master of Pondicherry does not know how to govern properly and will hear no advice, the town is going to ruin. And not only are the town and its inhabitants being ruined, but the Governor, M. Dupleix, had brought disgrace on himself in more ways than one. Firstly whatever he does of himself, he does wrongly, for he always acts without taking advice. Secondly his wife wants to share in the government. Thirdly the master of Madras is deaf. He can understand nothing unless it is given to him in writing. He has never lived in the realm of intelligence. . . there is no proper *dubash* to manage affairs. . . What wonder that the town is ruined when these people are gathered together? Any one of these evil men would ruin the country, but when three or four are joined together what may not happen? Any wise man can see, I cannot write at full length, so I have written briefly.' Again, 'He (Dupleix) makes no proper enquiries, nothing is done properly. Such conduct brings no profit either to the Company or to the Governor. The merchants lose their hard-earned money and the Governor his reputation. Seeing that he cannot govern properly the town in which he lives, how can he be expected to govern a distant and important town like Madras?' Personal pique at being denied a hand in the Madras affairs may have some share in the vitriolic nature of these remarks, which however disclose the true defects of Dupleix's character and action. The property of a number of Madras merchants was taken away by the French officials who divided the goods among themselves. In reply to the protestations of Ranga Pillai, Dupleix would often repeat to him to write to the merchants promising to give them back their property, if they should come and live at Pondicherry. But the latter always wrote about their grievances and begged the Governor to do something for them. The Diarist suspected that Madame Dupleix was inducing the Madras merchants not to give true answers to him and his men.

Contrast this opinion of Dupleix with that expressed by the Diarist in vol. 1, pp. 299-300 (see p. 4, *J.I.H.*, vol. vi., part iii).

The policy of Dupleix was evidently to transfer all the trade from Madras to Pondicherry, 'by the simple expedient of removing thither all the native merchants and their property'. The Armenians indeed pretended to acquiesce in the plan; they even behaved as if they persuaded other merchants to do the same. But this was 'little more than a cover under which to remove their property elsewhere' (Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 18). The Indian merchants were more obstinate. They were threatened by a proclamation dated March 2, 1747, that they should register all property in their possession, and that in default of compliance within three days, search would be made in every house, and all goods and articles found therein would be confiscated to the Company. Another order issued by the Council of Pondicherry soon after ordered all merchants and other persons at

effectively blockaded Pondicherry, captured several French merchantmen coming from the northward and sold their goods at Fort St. David. The English blockade prevented grain-vessels from reaching Pondicherry where there prevailed scarcity while plenty reigned at Cuddalore. The merchants of Madras steadily refused French solicitations to settle at Pondicherry, saying that the English would never give up their city. They feared that the French might forcibly convert them to the Christian faith and would not allow them any civil liberty; and they would not listen either to the overtures of the Diarist or to the solicitations of Madame Dupleix, and they would give no answer so long as they should be solicited on both sides; and Dupleix believed that while the Dubash had failed to get the merchants to live at Pondicherry, his wife would be more successful in the task.

III. THE SITUATION WITH THE COUNTRY POWERS

The death of Mr. John Hinde, the Governor of Fort St. David, which occurred on April 25 and his burial the next day at the Church at Tevanampatnam (probably in a tomb in the cemetery north-west of the Fort, of which no trace remains now) is recorded by the Diarist under heading Wednesday, April 26. Two days later he records an interesting account of the situation in the Carnatic, where Nasir Jang who had been put in charge of the districts south of the Krishna by Nizam-ul-Mulk, wrote to Anwar-ud-din Khan to march to him with

Madras to quit it for Pondicherry within eight days, and to transfer their goods within this period to the Fort from which they were to be shipped off to Pondicherry, where they were to be delivered to the owners, and that any person not complying with this order would have his property confiscated (*vide* Diarist's entries for March 6 and 7, 1747; pp 403 and 405-6 of vol. III, also letter from Pondicherry to the Company, dated, February 6, 1747). But even at the close of 1747, the Pondicherry Council could not record even a little success in the matter, and they reported as follows — 'All the methods we have employed—promises, threats and confiscation—to induce the native merchants to come and dwell here, have been fruitless. Most favourable conditions were annexed to their removal—the possession of all their property, and the most formal assurances of never being molested either in their trade or religion. . . . But no one has come, save a few wretches, neither rich nor respectable. This obstinacy is in fact very humiliating to us (quoted by Dodwell who says that this order was repeated a few days later with no more effect than that of the previous one, although in the interval half of the Black Town had been demolished.)—Letter to the French Company, November 30, 1747, from Pondicherry and Council Order, dated December 1, 1747. The latter decree of the Pondicherry Council said that all goods will be confiscated unless the owners should settle in Pondicherry within six months.

his troops or, if he could not go, to send Muhammad Ali instead. Anwar-ud-din was reported to contemplate the recall of Mahfuz Khan from Nasir Jang, then marching against Tanjore in person to recover arrears of tribute, on his own visit to Nasir Jang. Muhammad Ali was at this time in Conjeevaram and was in frequent communication with Fort St. David. This situation caused Dupleix to write a letter of conciliation to Nasir Jang and also one to Imam Sahib (who had previously been an officer under Dost Ali and was now in the Nizam's service and acted 'more or less as the representative of French interests') in which an offer was made to exchange Madras for the regions of Villianallur and Valudavur,¹ with a request that letters should be written in Nasir Jang's name to the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes commanding them to cease fighting and keep peace in the Mughal country on pain of their trade being stopped and they themselves being expelled. Rumour reached Pondicherry in the beginning of May that the English had asked the Nawab for 500 horse and 2,000 foot and the latter had promised to send them; but neither the Diarist nor the Governor believed that it could be true. Also it was bruited about that the English had decided to collect their ships and cannonade Pondicherry for some five or six nights.² The

¹ 'In February 1747, the Council Superior wrote to the *Compagnie* proposing three ways of dealing with Madras: (1) to keep the place in order to exchange it for Louisburg, when peace should be made with England, (2) to sell it back to the English Company, (3) to exchange it for territory near Pondicherry as in the text, *Cons. Sup' a' la Compagnie*, Feb 6, 1747, P R.F 18. This letter in the text is interesting, for it shows that Dupleix did not wait for the Company's orders.' Mr. Dodwell's *Note* on p. 72 of vol. iv of the *Diary*

² Commodore Griffin, even shortly after his first arrival, opened negotiations with the Nizam's government regarding Madras. A letter from Nasir Jang to the Commodore received on June 6 (i.e. June 17, new style) deplores the carelessness and want of diligence of the Madras Governor in surrendering the Fort when he could have stood a siege. It concludes with a vague undertaking which might mean anything or nothing. This ran as follows —

'Now the victorious Ensigns of my most potent Army . . . are marching towards the Kingdom of Carnatica for settling affairs there. And as it is unalterably his Excellency's most just and lawful Sentiment to do justice to the whole Empire, by punishing the oppressors and protecting and aiding the oppressed, and is what I am also delighted in, I have now, and once before, wrote to my friend Anawardean Cawn Behauder . . . to cause that the lawful Proprietors are righted and dispossess the Usurpers, and by the Almighty's Grace the said Cawn Behauder will put the Orders into Execution, agreeable to his Duty which requires him to do so . . . ' (*Fort St. David Consultations*, vol. xv, August 31, 1747; quoted by Love.) The letter to Nasir Jang was preceded by one from Mr. Hinde to the same personage, complaining of the conduct of the French and requesting that he should order

movements of Nasir Jang who made as if to march to Arcot, together with the news that Nizam-ul-Mulk had made peace with the Marathas and Mir Ghulam Husain of Tinnevely had made up with Mahfuz Khan, increased the fear of a hostile demonstration by the English fleet. There was also continued activity on the part of the English at Fort St. David who were busy destroying the houses in the village to the north and clearing the ground round the fortifications of all impediments. The chiefs in the neighbourhood of Madras were also hostile ; and the *poligars* of Durgarazpattanam and Nellore ill-treated M. d'Espremēnil who left Madras for Bengal, suddenly and much to the surprise of the Council of Pondicherry. It was indeed true that Nawab Anwar-ud-din, when he heard of the complaint from the French about this, wrote to his son, Abdul Wahab Khan who was Faujdar of Nellore, that the French property taken by him should be immediately restored and to the English Governor at Fort St. David that Frenchmen should not be molested and their letters not interfered with. When two Frenchmen who were proceeding from Karikal to Pondicherry were seized by the English peons at Tiruvadi, the Nawab sent an order to the English Governor to release them and a copy thereof in Persian to Dupleix.¹

The dreary negotiations and counter-negotiations with the Mughal powers continued, in the course of which the French tried to get the support of Mahfuz Khan and of Nawab Anwar-ud-din and to get their prisoners exchanged for those of the English. In the beginning of October, the English ships passed by from Fort St. David, cast anchor in the Pondicherry roads threateningly, then proceeded to Madras in whose roads they burnt a French ship, and later sailed to the north-east and went out of sight.² News came a few days later that the ships

the restoration of Madras. This is mentioned by the Diarist in his entry for June 11 (p. 93 of vol. iv) A deputation was to be sent to Nasir Jang with presents from Fort St. David, the embassy was ready to start when news arrived that the Nizam had marched from Hyderabad to Aurangabad ; and this embassy was put off for the time being

¹ The order text of which is given in the Diary (vol. iv, p. 108) is deemed by the Diarist to have 'cringed, rather than commanded'.

² 'To-day the Governor sent for me and said, "The English have burnt the *Neptune* in the Madras Roads. This is the result of Flacourt's being captain. No one else would have behaved so badly, for as soon as the English ships came in sight, he went ashore in a masula-boat. Such conduct cannot be borne with. The English have gone and done this mischief at Madras, because two French ships were there. Now I will no longer spare Fort St. David" . . .' (Entry for

reached Bengal, though they actually reached Balasore only in December. News reached Fort St. David that two men-of-war and eight of the Company's ships which they had been escorting, had left England in the beginning of January and were then about fifteen days' sail distant. Griffin was anxious about the safety of the English shipping in the Bay and deferred his voyage to the Archipelago, determined to cruise about the Madras coast, to prevent more ships from falling into French hands.

The happenings at the courts of the Nawab and Nasir Jang¹ frequently roused the anxiety of Dupleix and the Diarist. When Anwar-ud-din heard that, owing to repeated English requests, Nasir Jang had made a resolve to go down into the Carnatic, he (the Nawab) wrote to Mahfuz Khan to bring about a frustration of the march saying that 'what between French arrogance, English cowardice and the famine (prevailing), the country was ruined and could not bear the expenses of his (Nasir Jang's) army'. The news of Nasir Jang departing from the Balaghat after finishing his negotiations with Mysore was very welcome to the old Nawab who had so moulded several at the Nizam's court, as to be speaking always of the bravery of the French and the cowardice of the English. Moreover the old Nizam who was engaged in operations round Daulatabad, had ordered Nasir Jang to return to the Deccan, in order to help him against a

October 7) It was rumoured in Pondicherry that M Dordelin's ships had sailed from Mahe about the beginning of October, and Dupleix expected it for some days with great anxiety. On their way from Goa to Mahe, they succeeded in capturing an English ship and a sloop with thirteen lakhs of dollars (the *Anson* bound from England for Bombay, and the *Fakhro Markab*, a country-ship probably belonging to Bengal, and the prize was estimated by the Pondicherry Council at two million livres (£100,000). The object of Griffin's squadron was to cruise off the coast in order to save English ships from falling into enemy hands.

¹ Nasir Jang seems to have entered into, or at least begun negotiations for an agreement with the English that he would recover Madras for a sum (ten lakhs of pagodas according to the Diarist and three lakhs, according to the English records, *Country Correspondence* 1748, No. 5, p. 2) and 3,000 pagodas for each day the army marched and 2,000 pagodas for each day he halted, *vide* entry for October 25, 1747, and Mr. Dodwell's note on the subject of the amount, (p. 189 of vol. iv of the *Diary*). Later when this failed, the Fort St. David *vakils* with Nasir Jang made new proposals, by which the English were to have 1,000 horse under two *jamadars*, which Mahfuz Khan was persuaded by the French to frustrate. A letter to Pondicherry from Nasir Kuli Khan, the *diwan* of Mahfuz Khan, dated December 1747, says that Mahfuz Khan had contrived to stop the projected expedition.

projected Maratha invasion, headed by Sadasiva Rao the Bhao, son of Chimanaji Appa.

Later we learn from the Diarist that Mutyalu Nayakan who went to Nasir Jang's camp on behalf of the English spent a large amount of money in presents without getting anything in return and that both Nawab Anwar-ud-din and his Dewan Samapati Rao declared jestingly that the English had lost their good fortune and their wits together. The only outcome of the situation was that Morari Rao Ghorpade and his Maratha horse began plundering the country round Venkatagiri Fort, Vellore, Ambur and Vaniyambadi ; and the people at Arcot and Lalapettai were alarmed for fear of the Maratha horse, 'having no place of refuge on the coast to fly to, owing to the troubles between the French and the English.'

On March 10, the Diarist made an entry that Mutyalu Nayakan, the English *vakil*, had arrived at Arcot from Nasir Jang's camp with presents from him. Anwar-ud-din was commanded by a *parwana* to order all the *poligars* to assist the English as against the French, while another order directed Dupleix to abstain from further hostilities against the English ; and Mutyalu Nayakan was accompanied by a band of Mughal and Maratha horsemen and three hundred peons. So after all the English had secured some measure of diplomatic success. All that Dupleix could do was only to fulminate against the enormous sloth of the Arcot Darbar where it was difficult to get admission and it took fifteen days to have a letter answered. The French could only resort to the dirty expedient of intriguing for the seizure of Mutyalu Nayakan on his way from Arcot to Cuddalore ; but the latter appears to have learnt something of the plans against him. For this purpose an adventurer in the French service, Abd-ul-Rahman was detailed off with a hundred horse and ammunition to waylay Mutyalu and to instigate the Poligar of Vettavalam to help in this task. It was even thought to be a desirable achievement to take captive Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, and Mr. Griffin along with him, if possible. Mutyalu Nayakan was too clever to get caught and reached Fort St. David safely. The Diarist now began to say that Mr. Floyer was highly displeased with his *vakil* for not having got any substantial help from Nasir Jang and for having spent a lakh of pagodas uselessly.

All that the French now cared about was that, if the Marathas invaded the Carnatic, as they threatened to do, the people at Arcot

would be busy defending themselves, and then they could settle everything about Fort St. David in spite of Nasir Jang's *parwana* to the Nawab to assist the English; and so both Governor and Dubash counted on the possibility of the English not getting any help from Arcot when they should launch their intended gigantic attack against the English.

IV. ANOTHER BARREN ATTACK ON FORT ST. DAVID

The English began in December to actively strengthen their batteries; and for fear of being unable to hold their outworks, they demolished the Deadman's Battery on the west of the Fort, since the latter was within easy range of the fire of its guns. They collected stores and provisions in the Manjakuppam Garden-House and were on their guard; they summoned a council of war on January 5, 1748, to decide how Dupleix's projected attack which was well known, should be met. Nearly two thousand soldiers and Mahe sepoys were collected by the French and posted at Ariyānkuppam, ready to attack Fort St. David. The town of Cuddalore was deserted by most of the merchants and other inhabitants and was almost completely denuded of its womenfolk. Ranga Pillai notes a curious incident regarding the brother of the *dubash* of ex-Governor Morse; that he was caught in the act of carrying on secret correspondence with Madame Dupleix and even implicating Morse himself.¹ Dupleix himself did not believe that Morse was guilty of any such treasonable correspondence.

The French troops moved out of Ariyankuppam on January 13, while a letter was written to Nawab Anwar-ud-din informing him of the starting of the French expedition and justifying their conduct in view of the alleged violence of the English. Dupleix himself accompanied the expedition, which, while within nine miles of its objective, descried the approach to the coast of six ships and a sloop showing English colours. These, which constituted Griffin's squadron

¹ The preliminary examination of Mr. Morse alluded to by the Diarist cannot be traced in the English records. It was likely that inquiries were made of him, but 'Ranga Pillai's version is incredible'. Lakshmanan, the person implicated, was finally brought to trial by court-martial in June, and his letters, so far as they were secured by the English, 'do not appear to have contained any very valuable secrets, but there was no doubt of his correspondence and he was condemned to be hung.' Mr Dodwell's *note* on the Diarist's entry (*vide* note 1 on p. 312 of vol. iv).

arrived at Fort St. David on January 17.¹ Dupleix² at once ordered his troops and baggage to retreat. Ranga Pillai has entered in his Diary the camp news that Appu Mudali who accompanied the troops wrote to the Diarist from day to day during the march and retreat (January 14-17), and we are told that all the troops were full of zeal, and the former expeditions were not one-eighth as well managed as this, and this was 'entirely due to M. Dupleix who cared nothing about what he ate or when he slept, ate the same food as his men and took no thought for his personal comfort'. Thus ended another attempt of Dupleix to capture Fort St. David which was protected not only by the ships of Griffin's squadron but also by three fresh ships from England and three Company's ships from England *via* Bengal.³ News came that a large expedition was also

¹ Pondicherry was left practically undefended, as all the garrison had gone into camp, and the Fort was guarded only by the Councillors' writers and old men who had been armed with muskets

² The Diarist, with his usual fickleness and animus against Madame Dupleix condemns his master's rashness in having set out on the expedition without considering all the possibilities and only relying on Madame's reports as to what happened—'He marched against Fort St. David inconsiderately and inconsiderately returned. Every one is continuously making jests at his expense and indeed it is plain that none can earn respect who follows a woman's counsel' (*entry* for January 17) The Diarist adds that two days before Dupleix started he had received information that the English squadron had been asked to return to Fort St. David with about 500 soldiers on board, but Dupleix would not believe this news and held that the Fort would not be receiving reinforcements and would have to shift as best as it might Besides Dupleix said that 'Mr. Morse had been consulted in secret and that he had advised the Fort to be surrendered as Madras had been, since there was no other means of safety, in consequence of which the English were already removing their goods.' The Diarist adds that Dupleix did not pause to consider whether Mr. Morse was likely to have said such a thing or not

³ The garrison of Fort St. David was reinforced by the arrival of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses (soldiers of Eurasian descent) and 100 sepoys from Bombay, besides 400 sepoys from Tellicherry, and in the course of the year 150 soldiers had been landed from the Company's ships from England. In January 1748, Major Stringer Lawrence arrived with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India (Mill, *History of British India* (1858), vol. iii, p. 55). Dupleix had to acknowledge the superiority of English ships and sailors in his letter to Montaron, January 30, 1748 News reached Pondicherry and the ear of Diarist that fresh ships besides those that had already reached Fort St. David were coming from England with reinforcements—this is deemed to be more likely a confused rumour of the coming of Boscawen's squadron, the news of which had already reached Fort St. David (February 2, 1748, *entry*). Nine ships of the Royal Navy (one of 74, one of 64, two of 60, two of 50, one of 20 guns, a sloop of 14, a bomb-ketch with her tender) commanded by Admiral Boscawen and eleven ships of the English Company carrying stores and troops to the number of

preparing ; and at the same time Stringer Lawrence, a retired Captain of the King's Service took command as Major of the garrison of Fort St. David. 'His arrival and the discipline which he at once proceeded to enforce, mark the time from which the Company's troops became an efficient military force.'

V. THE SEQUEL OF IT

From this time there were frequent skirmishes and collisions. In one encounter between French boats and an English one, eleven Englishmen were killed, another resulted in the English setting fire to some French ships. Of course the usual complaint reached Anwar-ud-din regarding the burning of the boats. As if troubles were not enough, there arose a new complication. Shahjī Raja of Tanjore, the son of Sarabhojī Raja according to the Diarist, sent an envoy to Pondicherry, by name Kōyājī Kāttigai promising that he was prepared to make an alliance with the French. Dupleix was very doubtful if any substantial gain could come out of any engagement with this person and ordered the messenger to be sent away. This Shahjī¹ was an

1,400 men, set sail from England towards the end of 1747 with instruction to capture the Island of Mauritius on their way. The expedition was deterred from this after an examination of this coast of the Island and on account of the loss of time that the enterprise would occasion. The expedition arrived off Fort St. David on August 20, when 'the squadron, joined to that under Griffin, formed the largest European force that any one power had yet possessed in India.'

¹ Tukoji Raja died about the year 1735. He had five sons (1) Bava Sahib; (2) Saiyaji, (3) Anna Sahib, (4) Nana Sahib; and (5) Pratap Singh. Of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. Nos. 3 and 4 died before their father, and Bava Sahib who succeeded, died about a year after. Bava Sahib's widow, Sujana Bai, was now raised to the throne by the ministers. But soon a pretender under the name of Savai Shahji, generally known as *Kattu Raja* (Forest King) came forward and, with the aid of the Muhammadan commander of the Tanjore Fort, succeeded in usurping the throne. He was soon deposed in favour of Saiyaji, the second son of Tukoji, and the latter had in his turn to give place to Pratap Singh. The pretender Savai Shahji was in reality the offspring of a slave woman named Rupi, to Sarabhoji, the second son of Ekoji, counterfeited as the son of one of his queens. A previous counterfeit prince had already been disposed of. This second counterfeit was set up by one Koyanji Ghangte (Kōyājī Kāttigai²) who alleged that he was the Savai Shahji and was the lawful heir to the throne. He was afterwards called *Kattu Raja*, because when he was proclaimed as Raja, he came from the Udayārpālayam jungle whither he had been taken by Ghangte for the purpose of securing the aid of its *poligar* for him. This pretender later secured the aid of the English at Fort St. David and of the Dutch at Negapatam. This prince was deposed by Saiyaji, the legitimate son of Tukoji. The *Tanjore District Manual* alleges that there were two rulers between Bava Sahib's wife and Pratap Singh, viz., Savai Shahji, the son of Sarabhoji, and the other Saiyaji, the son of Tukoji. The latter has been

obscure pretender to the Tanjore throne which, after the death of

consistently ignored in the pedigrees kept up by Pratap Singh who was after all an illegitimate son. And hence there was a likelihood of the identification of the two as one.

Mill distinctly speaks, on the authority of an authentic manuscript of Tanjore, of the pretended son of Sarabhoji and of Sahuje (evidently Saiyaji) the youngest of the sons of Tukoji and attributes all the revolutions to the Muhammadan commandant, Sayid, whose execution was the first act of Pratap Singh's reign. (Book iv, chap. 11, p. 62 of vol. III) Wilson in his note on Mill who declared that Orme was misinformed—as he considered both Shahji and Pratap Singh to have been sons of Sarabhoji—says that Saiyaji, as Duff calls him, was a legitimate son of Tukoji. Mr. Dodwell in his note (on pp. 350-1 of vol. iv of the *Diary*) says that the attempt of the *Tanjore Manual* was to reconcile the versions of Orme and Duff; and that it was not supported by the *Memoir* which was written by Elias Guillot, the Dutch Governor of Negapatam, in 1739, which was strongly in favour of the identification of the two persons Shahji and Saiyaji, and the Dutch were exceedingly well informed on all Tanjore affairs. He says 'I take it that the Shahji who reigned from 1737 to 1739 claimed to be a son of Sarabhoji, whether he was or not I cannot pretend to decide, nor yet whether the person whose uncle visited Pondicherry was the actual prince who reigned. . . I think it probable that the man who now was approaching Duplex and who, at the close of the year 1748, was to visit Fort St. David with more success, was the Shahji who had reigned over Tanjore.' The native tradition embodied in the *Tanjore District Manual* distinctly says that the first pretended son of Sarabhoji was got rid of by the order of the latter himself when he came to know of the deception. The second counterfeit was set up many years afterwards by one Koyani Ghangte (*Kōyāji* Kattigai of the Diarist) who was the brother of the pretender's alleged mother. This is corroborated by other information also. Moreover the Abbé Guyon—the historian of French India, says that Pratap Singh stifled his rival Saiyaji in a bath of milk, and if that should have been true, the pretender Savai Shahji should have been a different person and not the same as had been killed by Pratap Singh in 1740.

The name given to the pretender in the Fort St. David records is Sahajee Maha Raja. The Marathi inscription in the Big Temple at Tanjore calls him Savai Shahji and *Kattu Raja*. According to the Marathi inscription, he obtained help even in 1738 when he deposed Sujana Bai, from the English at Fort St. David and the Dutch at Negapatam under specious promises. Another writer, Mr. K. R. Subrahmanian (in his *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, 1928, pp. 44-6) is inclined to support the view that there was no Saiyaji at all and that the same person, Shahji, superseded Sujana Bai for a while at first and afterwards permanently. The Dutch *Memoir* of 1739, Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary* for 1748 and the English account of the claims of Shahji in 1749—all say that he was the legal heir and not Pratap Singh. But the first of these sources only proves that the Dutch, having supported Shahji, pretend that he was the legal heir. The French *Dubash* only wrote what he was told of the claims of Shahji as the son of Sarabhoji; and the English records of 1749 could not prove the legitimacy of their candidate. None of these sources mentions Saiyaji, and a French record of 1749 accuses the English of having attempted to pull down the reigning prince Pratap Singh and place a phantom in his stead. So the writer concludes that there was only one person, Shahji, the *Kattu Raja*; and there is no reason to suppose that Tukoji had a legitimate son, Saiyaji, who ruled for a year before Pratap's accession.

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Tukoji (1728–35) who was the last son of Ekoji, suffered a number of rapid revolutions before the Government became settled on the accession of Pratap Singh in 1740. Dupleix's dismissal of Kāttigai was probably due to his fear of provoking the enmity of the Tanjore ruler at a time when the English fleet was expected on the coast. It was also consistent with the recommendation of Le Riche of Karikal made in the previous year that the times were not suitable for such an enterprise. He ordered the Diarist to write letters to Pratap Singh of Tanjore, and Manoji Appa, his chief minister, saying, 'We thought Shahji was dead, and are astonished that you have written to M. Paradis, the chief of Karikal, to say that the old Raja Sarabhoji's son, Shahji, the late tyrannous Raja, has been kept in Pondicherry; it surprises us as much as if a dead man had come to life again. We could get no advantage from helping him; and so why should we concern ourselves with so unlucky a man? . . .'¹ Copies of these letters were sent to Paradis. All the while paddy and stores were being steadily accumulated, and the neighbouring *poligars* were cautiously sounded. Dupleix, whether consciously or otherwise, told the Diarist that the Dutch had joined the French and declared war against the English and that was why the English with all their shipping were afraid to attack Pondicherry. In reality Louis XIV declared war on Holland and 'in a few months Dutch troops were to appear beside the English before Pondicherry'.

Thus the events drifted on to the last episode of this first Anglo-French struggle.

¹ Diarist's entry for February 27.

(To be continued.)

Muslim Thugs

BY

A. S. TRITTON

A HISTORIAN notes that Rāshid, the strangler, died on the same day as Abu'l 'Atāhiya in A.H. 211. Several authorities state that some of the extremist Shi'a sects were stranglers. Ibn Hazm brings them into connection with the Khashabis, the club-bearers, who fought for Mukhtār. He says :—

The companions of Abū Mansūr, *ul mustanīr* were all stranglers and smashers, also the followers of Mughīra ibn Sa'id. They did not permit the carrying of arms till he who is expected should come ; so they killed by strangling and stones. The Khashabis killed with clubs only. They limited themselves to strangling and smashing and the Kaisānis to fighting with clubs alone, because they do not permit on principle the carrying of any iron weapon, even if they be killed, until he whom they expect shall come. Then they will carry weapons. Now they kill only by strangulation, by smashing with stones, and with clubs. Hishām ibnu'l Hakam the Rāfidi in his book the *Mizān* (he knew more about them than any for he was their neighbour in Kufa and in doctrine) says that the adherents of the Kisf especially killed those who had opposed them. They said, ' Let us hurry the believer to paradise and the unbeliever to hell. After the death of Abū Mansūr they gave the fifth of what they took from those they strangled to Hasan ibn abī Mansūr.' ¹

Another writer says that they strangled their opponents. Abū Mansūr claimed to be the *kisf* which is mentioned in the *Koran*. ' If (they see a piece (*kisf*) falling from the sky they say, " A piled up cloud ".' 52-44).

The names Khashabi and Kaisāni seem to be used indifferently, the latter denoting an adherent of Mukhtār whose name is said by some to have been Kaisān. The tale of their ' pilgrimage ' is a good illustration of their activity. In 66 A.H. Ibn Zubair imprisoned

¹ Ibn Hazm, *Kitāb ul Milāl wa Nihāl*, 4. 185 with the additions from *JOAS* v. 28, p. 63.

Muhammad ibnu 'l Hanafiya, his family, and seventeen prominent citizens of Kufa in the house over the well Zemzem because they refused to do homage to one who was not acknowledged by the common consent of Islam and had fled to the sacred precincts. Ibn Zubair threatened to burn them if they did not do homage by a certain date. When the guards were asleep Ibnu 'l Hanafiya sent word to Mukhtār in Kufa. He roused the town and sent off in successive detachments 650 men. The wood to burn the prisoners was already heaped up and two days only of the respite remained when the first detachment of 150 men entered the mosque at Mecca, carrying the *kāfirchob*, the wooden clubs, and crying, 'Vengeance for Husain'. They drove off the guards, burst open the Zemzem house, and wanted to kill Ibn Zubair; but Ibnu 'l Hanafiya stayed them. Ibn Zubair despised them as they were few, but when four hundred more arrived with treasure he was frightened. Ibnu 'l Hanafiya escaped and distributed the money brought him among four thousand adherents. Thus five hundred and fifty men defied in his capital one who claimed to be caliph and who actually ruled a good part of the Muslim world.

Al Jāhiz in his *Book of the Animal* gives two descriptions of the doings of these stranglers. One of them is in part repeated in another place in the book. The following account is a combination of the two versions :—

The stranglers help one another and never dwell or travel except in company. Often they make themselves masters of a whole road or track. They dwell only on thoroughfares. Behind their houses are deserts, gardens, muck heaps or such like. In every house are drums, tamburines, and dogs tied, while they have always at their doors one of themselves who is a teacher of writing. When the men of a house strangle anyone the women beat the tamburines and some beat the dogs so that the teacher hears and with the boys' shouts, 'Bark'. Or the teacher tells the boys to recite aloud the alphabet, the Koran, or their sums. The occupants of every house answer them with tamburines and cymbals, like women in a village, and excite the dogs. If the man strangled is a donkey driver no one bothers about him, as happened in Rakka. They seized all the travellers on one road because one of them fancied a garment with a few dirhams carried by a porter. The noose was thrown round his neck and he fainted, but did not die and his belly twitched. The washer of the dead came, the porter

moved though the noose was still on his neck, his senses came back to him, and when he found that he was alone he went to the door of the house and outside with the noose round his neck. A group of men met him, he told his story, so a hue and cry was raised and the stranglers were all taken.

Similar things happened in Kufa and other places. Hammād ur Rāwī mentions those accused of strangling, both tribes, tribesmen, and sectaries : the manner of strangulation, and the names of some of them.

The second account is this :

Some of the stranglers are combiners, so called because they combine strangling with 'giving scent'.¹ On their journeys they carry with them two round stones. If one of them is left alone with one of a band of travellers he asks him to turn his back and then throws a stone at the back of his neck, or he does this while he is praying. If the first stone brains him, he strips him ; if the man lifts his head, he smashes his face with the second. He does the same if he finds one asleep or off his guard. Some of them accompanied a man who started from Rai with a girdle on his loins. He never parted from the rest of the caravan and was always on his guard. When they neared the parting of two roads and the company was camped in the open or on the roofs of the khans busied with their own affairs, and the man was off his guard as it was daytime and he was in the midst of his fellows, suddenly the noose was round his neck. Another threw him down as soon as he saw the noose on his neck, jumped on him, and sat on his chest. A third pulled his legs, threw a sheet over him, and said the call to prayer in his ear. One of the caravan got up to sympathize and help but they told him to stop where he was, 'If he sees you he will be ashamed and abashed.' So the caravan moved on without interfering with them and left the man behind. When they were alone with him they took what they wanted, left what they did not want, carried him away, and threw him into the bed of a river.²

The presence of these people has already been noted at Kufa, Rakka, and Rai. One named Rādawaih was well known in Basra. At Medina lived a woman 'Adiya the Less who was one of them and

¹ To give scent is evidently thieves' slang for breaking a man's face with a stone.

² Jāhiz, *Kitāb ul Hayawān*, 2. 96, 6. 129.

was in addition said to be a cannibal. A story told of a Nazzām, the Mu'tazelite theologian shows how notorious these people were. He landed at the Port of Abwāz and took his baggage to a khan. While he sat debating in himself what to do, as he dared not leave his luggage unprotected, there came a knock at the door: 'This,' he said, 'is either a strangler, an enemy, or a messenger from the government.' In 257 a man was discovered in Baghdad who had murdered many woman and buried them in his house. There is nothing to show that he was a strangler by religious profession; as only women are mentioned as his victims he was more probably a criminal pervert.

Most of these men appear to have been drawn from a few tribes. One poet says:—

If you travel among the 'Ijī, go in company, if in Kinda, beware of them
as you fear extinction.

In the sect of the blind man are strangling, deceit, poison, and the making
of stones for throwing.

All of them are bad although their head is Hamīda, and Maila the lady of
the Kīsi.

If you are with the two tribes of Bajīla then listen. In them is a breaking
that leads to death.

If they determine on strangling a visitor they call to one another about him
with barking and noise.

Another said, 'If life delights you, go not to Kinda.'

Al Jāhiz adds a few explanations. The blind man was Mughīra ibn Sa'īd, a client of Bajīla who was executed by Khālīd ul Kasrī. To prove the participation of Kinda in these practices he mentions Abū Katba of that tribe who was captured in Kufa, killed, and impaled, Shahrastānī says that both Mughīra and Abū Mansūr belonged to 'Ijī as did the Man with the Two Lovelocks.

It is curious to find women taking such an important part in these religious movements, though many parallels can be found outside Islam. It looks as if orthodoxy had tried to forget their share for they are not mentioned except by al Jāhiz. Hamīda was a leader of the extremists and had been a follower of Laila, another extremist of the tribe of Nā'iz. Maila was the companion or nurse of Abū Mansūr.

Orthodox writers say that these people were not Muslims. One does wonder whether theological hatred has slandered the early sects of the Shi'a; still the evidence seems too good to be rejected entirely.

Some Side-lights on the Character and Court-life of Shah Jahan

BY

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THE very name of the Emperor Shah Jahan conjures up a vision of the Taj, the Peacock-throne, and a lonely tower of the Agra Fort where he died a prisoner of his own son. His life-history is a long tale of romance and tragedy in which love, adventure and pathos abound. It is said that the glamour of the Tajmahal hides many an ugly trait of his character and many unhappy features of his reign—which are revealed in the accounts of the contemporary foreign travellers. We propose to keep clear of controversy, and limit our survey to a few aspects of his character and rule in the light of original Persian authorities, occasionally supplemented by Hindi literary traditions. We shall depict Shah Jahan as he loved to see himself portrayed in his Court-history, *Padshah-nama* which the great minister Sadullah Khan used to read out to the Emperor, and make necessary corrections at his suggestion.

In character the contrast between Akbar and Shah Jahan is more striking than resemblance—the latter was essentially a reactionary with a missionary zeal to exalt Islam by repressing other religions. After his accession to the throne Shah Jahan abolished many un-Islamic innovations of Akbar (e.g. prostration before the throne), restored Hijri Era in the State Calendar, and revived the influence of the orthodox party who hailed him as the real *Mahdi* (Guide), after the dark regime of the anti-Christ, i.e. his grand-father Akbar. During his reign the empire lost to a great extent its national character and became pre-eminently an Islamic state, governed according to the institutes of Muhammad (*Shariyat-i-Muhammadi*). But the character of Shah Jahan partook of a double nature—an actual combination of Muslim orthodoxy and a profane tradition of age of Akbar. He was Dara and Aurangzib in one; the latter representing the ‘other side of the medal’.

Shah Jahan believed in the merit of even forcible conversion as the Tradition says, ' God marvels at men that are dragged to Paradise with chains.' He spared the rebels on their conversion to Islam, and those who refused his clemency were treated with genuine Turkish brutality. Rank, office and rewards were bestowed on Hindu renegades ; even *Jihad*¹ was approved when it was not likely to cause a general commotion among the Hindus. In Kashmir he changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. He prohibited the construction of new temples on the Crown lands of the Empire, and within a few years of his accession 76 Hindu temples in the processes of building were destroyed within the jurisdiction of Benares alone. Some of the Feringi prisoners of Hughly were pardoned on their conversion to Islam while others were allowed to perish in the prison ; all their images were broken except two which were thrown into the Jamna. Shah Jahan destroyed a happy picture of Hindu-Muslim unity which even the most optimistic patriot of to-day can hardly imagine. ' In the month of Rabi-us-sani, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimbar Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the *Mussalmans* of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the *Hindus* [*ba-Kufar dokhtar me-dehend*] and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by *Mussalmans* were to be buried and Muslim girls were to be burnt according to Hindu custom, after death. The Emperor who is the Shelter of the Faith—ordered that the Hindus who had married Muslim women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jogu, a Zamindar of these parts—from whom these despicable customs had originated—through the grace of God, and out of fear, and at the desire of His Majesty (*bim o ummed-i-Hazrat Sahib-qiran Sani*), with all his kinsmen

¹ Reference A local officer who had undertaken a '*Jihad*' to convert a remnant of Hindu population of *Darubekri*, 40 miles south of Jalalabad is praised (Waris MS. 107b). Auchal and Incha were given the name Sahibabad and Islamabad respectively (*Pad*, II, pp. 49, 51) ; the *Waqia-navis* (News-writer), reports the destruction of temples in Benares, (*ibid.*, I, pp. 451-2) , Christian images thrown into the Jamuna (*ibid.*, I, p. 535) , Rajah Bakhtawar Kachchawa who had accepted Islam gets Rs. 2,000 in reward (*ibid.*, I, p. 540) ; at the recommendation of Aurangzib, Premji, the son of the Hindu Rajah of Baglana, named Sadat-mand after conversion, receives a mansab of 1,500 zat, 1,000 sawars (*ibid.*, III, p. 142).

accepted Islam, and was honoured with the title of Rajah Daulat-mand.' ¹

Shah Jahan discontinued religious debate, and all coquetting with heathen philosophy ; nor did he take any personal interest in the Hindu festivals of *Dewali* and *Rakhi-binding*. He instituted the *Shab-i-barat* as a national festival which was celebrated with much pomp wherever the Emperor happened to stay. In the year 1639 when Shah Jahan was at Lahore, Ali Mardan Khan once solicited permission to arrange a display of illumination in the Persian style in the night of *Shab-i-barat*. On the night of 11th Shaban A.H. 1049 the spacious court-yard of the Public Audience Hall of Lahore was wonderfully illuminated under the skilful management of Ali Mardan who, as it were, made every inch of ground emit light. The Emperor sat on the throne and ordered fire-works to be burnt in the court-yard of the Hall, and also outside, on the plain below the *Jharoak-i-darshan* for the enjoyment of the people at large. 'On this night Rs 10,000 was distributed in alms to the poor ; and Mullah Fazil, and Mullah Abdul Hakim Sialkoti received two hundred ashrafis each, as gifts out of the gold of Weighing (*az zar-i-wazn*).'² 'The *Milad* on the anniversary of the Prophet was an occasion of great solemnity at Court, and on this day only the Emperor of Hindustan, the Shadow of the Almighty (*Zill-i-Sobhani*), debased himself by descending from the throne, and taking his seat on carpet spread upon the ground. On the night of 12th Rabi-ul-awwal, A.H. 1043, the Emperor ordered a majlis to be held in the Palace (of Agra). A group of scholars, pious men, and Quran-reciters read the Quran, and narrated the virtues and noble actions of the Prophet ; rose-water was profusely scattered and perfumes distributed ; and trays of food, sweet-meat and *haluwa* were given to the people. As a token of reverence to this night of solemnity, His Majesty took his seat on a carpet spread on the ground, and made gifts of *Farji* (tout-cloth ?), and wrappers (shawl) to the Faqirs Rs. 20,000 in all was distributed in charity to the poor on this occasion.'³

Shah Jahan used to send lavish presents, and gifts of money every year to Mecca and Medina ; once a candle-stick (*Qandil*), studded with

¹ *Pad.*, ii, 57.

² *Shab-i-barat* celebrated at Lahor, *Pad.*, iii, pp. 167-8.

³ *Pad.*, i, pp. 539-40.

jewels was presented to the Prophet's tomb; among the jewels, there was one uncut diamond which alone weighed 180 *ratīs*.¹

In spite of orthodoxy, Shah Jahan could not completely free himself from some of the popular superstitions of the age. Foremost among these was his regard for astrology. In fixing the auspicious moments of marriage, etc., calculation was made according to Greek and Hindu systems independently, and the Emperor was not satisfied till they reached unanimity. We are told that the *lagna* of Dara's marriage was thus fixed by the astrologers of Greece and Hindustan (*ke mukhtar-i-anjum shanāsian-i-Yunān u-Hindustān bud*).² Astrologers once predicted that the Emperor was likely to fall ill, and that this could be averted by a special Weighing (*wazn*)! Accordingly the Emperor was weighed against gold on the eighth Rabi-us-sani, 1043.³ Shah Jahan continued the custom of weighing himself twice every year against gold and silver on his Lunar and Solar birth-days—a Hindu religious practice—*Tula-purush* adopted by Akbar. As this was an incongruity, and a violation of *Shariyat* (religious ordinance of Islam), Abdul Hamid offers an explanation for its retention, and says that it was calculated to take off evil and benefit the poor, and particularly the Ulema class among whom the gifts were distributed. On his Solar Birth-day the Emperor was weighed twelve times against the following articles successively; gold, silver, silk, perfumes, copper, *ruh-i-tutiya* (quick-silver?), drugs, *ghee*, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain and salt; and on Lunar Birth-day eight times against the following, gold, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, and vegetables. The third great festivity of the year was the Nauroz which, in spite of its un-Islamic character, had become sanctified by usage. The Court-life of Shah Jahan was indeed an unbroken round of pomp and festivity which served to alleviate the gloom of reaction. Outwardly his regime was a continuation of the Age of Akbar, though beneath the surface, the strong under-current of reaction was sapping the foundation of the Empire.

A child of the Orient, Shah Jahan could not but have in him an element of mysticism which was inherited by Dara. His hereditary devotion to Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishtī can be inferred from the fact that in the Court-history a biographical sketch of that saint is

¹ February 1648; Waris MS. 10 b.

² *Pad.* 1, p. 458

³ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

introduced as an auspicious preface to the narrative of his reign. He often received and returned the visits of eminent Sufi teachers of his age. We are told that on December 18, 1634 the Emperor paid a visit to the famous saint Mian Mir in his abode in the neighbourhood of Lahor, and spent sometime in discoursing on the mysteries of Truth and Gnosis.¹ 'On one occasion when singers and jugglers were entertaining the royal assembly, Shaik Nazir who had been invited to Court on account of his fame in working miracles—suddenly fell into ecstasy and called for a glass of water. The shaikh drank a little and passed it on to others ; everyone who tasted of it declared it to be pure honey . . . Prince Dara Shukoh and Qazi Muhammad Islam submitted to His Majesty that in Agra the Shaikh had in their presence once transformed a handkerchief into a pigeon (kabutar) ; further they added that once the Shaikh gave into their hands a blade of grass but out of the fold came out a worm into which the blade of grass had transformed itself.'²

The reign of Shah Jahan was a period of transition from the enlightened Nationalism of Akbar to the gloomy orthodox reaction of the days of Aurangzib. However his Court remained a happy meeting ground of Hindu and Muslim cultures, and literary merit and genius were liberally rewarded without any discrimination of creed. Though it is in vain that one looks for any Hindu names in Abdul Hamid's notice of poets and learned men of the age, he has preserved for us in scattered passages of *Padshah-nama*, an interesting picture of Shah Jahan's patronage to Hindu poets, musicians, and intellectual prodigies. 'On September 14, 1629, Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan brought to the Court two Tirhut (in North Bihar) Brahmans. Ten newly composed Hindi (*Sanskrit*) stanzas recited before them only once by ten different poets in succession—could be exactly repeated by each of these two Brahmans in the same order, besides they could compose extempore ten stanzas more on those very topics and in the self-same metres. . . . His Majesty bestowed khilats on them with Rs. 1,000 in reward to each.'³ At his Court Jagannath Pandit, the famous author of *Ras Gangadhar*, wrote a poem in praise of Asaf Khan (Asaf-lahari), and a *Kavya* 'Jagadābharanam', the hero of which is Prince Dara Shukoh. This Jagannath is referred to in the *Padshah-nama*, as

¹ *Pad*, ii, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 268-9,

Jagannath Kalāwant (Musician). The following passage of Abdul Hamid shows that Jagannath also composed a panegyric in Sanskrit on the Emperor Shah Jahan—which may some day come to light : ‘ On the 22nd Rabi-us-sani, A. H. 1044. . . Jagannath Kalāwant presented at Bhimbar twelve literary pieces (*taṣnifāt*) which in Hindustani they call Dharand (?). These songs (poems ?) were composed in the name of His Majesty who became so pleased that Jagannath was weighed against silver and the whole amount Rs. 4,500 was given to him in reward.¹ This poet-musician was originally given the title of *Kavī-rāy* which was afterwards changed into *Mahā-kavī-rāy*. In the above passage Abdul Hamid apparently uses the word Hindustani in the sense of Sanskrit; because Jagannath who was a Tailanga Brahman (as we learn from a Sanskrit source), composed songs only in the Karnāṭaka language. Elsewhere he says, ‘in this delightful age Jagannath Mahā-kavī-rāy heads the list of authors.² But his charming songs are written in *Karnātak language*, and the people of these tracts owing to their ignorance of this language, cannot understand the meaning and have to be content only with melody and tune of these songs.’ This places the identity of Jagannath Pandit beyond challenge and also incidentally proves that the above-mentioned twelve pieces of composition were neither songs nor were they written in Hindustani (i.e. Urdu or Hindi as we understand it) but in Sanskrit. Another great Sanskrit scholar, Kavīndrachārya Sarasvati also enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan and Prince Dara. A list of his collection of Sanskrit works has been published in the Baroda Oriental Series and we learn from this source that Kavīndra enjoyed the friendship of the enlightened Crown Prince. According to the authors of the History of Hindi Literature (*Misra-bandhu-binod* in Hindi), he was a Brahman of Benares, and besides some Sanskrit works of merit, he wrote a Hindi poem of 160 stanzas, entitled *Kavīndra-kalpalata* in which he praises the Emperor and his sons, and describes the splendour of the New Delhi, Shahjanabad, and the happiness of its inhabitants³ Kavīndra is also the author of a

¹ Pad 11, p. 56.

² *Sar-daftar-i-musannifān dar in zamān* . . . Jagannath Mahā-Kavī-rāy ast. . . *Lekin az an ru-i-ke in nughmat* . . . *ba-zabān-i-Karnāṭak shuyu dasht*, etc. Pad, III, p. 5.

³ *M. B.*, 11, p. 453,

philosophical work *Yoga-vāsishṭa-sar*¹ and he was a familiar figure at Court as early as 1652. 'Kavīndar interviewed His Majesty (at Lahor), and received Rs. 1,500 in reward on the 2nd Zilqada, A.H. 1062.'²

Shah Jahan was himself a thorough master of the Hindi vernacular, and appreciated Hindi poetry like his illustrious grandfather. Some poets seemed to have been in the enjoyment of hereditary patronage of the Royal House. One of these was Harināth (or Harnāth), son of Akbar's court-poet Narhari Mahāpātra; on January 29, 1640, he received in reward from Shah Jahan, one horse, one elephant and one lakh of *Dams* (40 *d*—1 Rupee).³ According to a Hindi tradition, while Harināth was returning from the darbar with these gifts, a Brahman beggar read an extempore couplet in his praise, and asked for reward. The poet gave him a lakh of Dams.⁴ Khafi Khan says that once the Emperor gave a female elephant and Rs. 2,000 in cash to a Hindi poet who recited a poem in praise of him (*Kabit ba-nam-i-Padshah guftah guzarad*).⁵ However the most serviceable among the Hindu literary satellites of the Court was the poet-diplomat Sundar Kavirāy who is several times mentioned in *Padshah-nama* in connection with his missions to Hindu rebels, Jujhar Singh Bundela and Rajah Jagat Singh of Jammu.⁶ He was a Brahman of Gwalior, and is the author of an erotic poem *Sundar-shringar* in which we are told that he resided at the Court of Shah Jahan, and that he at first enjoyed the title of Kavi-rāy which was afterwards exalted into Mahā-kavi-rāy.⁷ Śiromani, Miśra and Vedanga Rāy, Hindi authors of *Urbashi* and *Parsi-prakas* respectively, are also said to have enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan.⁸ Among the Court musicians, Lal Khan was most popular for his unrivalled superiority in singing *Dhrupad*. He was the son-in-law of Bilas, son of Tānsen of Akbar's Court. Lal Khan's sons Khush-hal and Visram were equally proficient in this art; the former used to compose songs in the name of the Emperor (*ba-nam-i-namī khediw-iqbal taṣnūfāt me-bandad*).⁹ Lal Khan was given the title of *Guna-samudra*, and an elephant in reward on October 8, 1642.¹⁰ Another Musician Darang Khan was weighed against silver and the

¹ *M.B.*, ii, p. 454.

² *Pad*, iii, p. 177.

³ *Muntakhab*, ii, p. 707.

⁴ *M.B.*, ii, pp. 454-5.

⁵ *Pad*, iii, p. 5.

⁶ *Waris Ms.*, p. 191.

⁷ *M.B.*, ii, p. 470.

⁸ *Pad*, ii, 94, iii, p. 238.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 311.

whole amount Rs. 4,500 given to him in reward on March 14, 1636.¹ What strikes us most is the Emperor's patronage to an Armenian, Zulqarnin Feringi. He had written a book in the name of the Emperor and this having met with approval, he was given a robe of honour and Rs. 5,000 in cash. This man seems to have been an expert in Greek astrology and the 'book' referred to is perhaps a horoscope, though the text does not warrant such interpretation (*taşnıfi ke ba-nam-i-nami sakhtāh bud*).² This Armenian secured a mansab of 500 zat, 300 sawars.³

The reign of Shah Jahan suffers by comparison with that of Akbar in every way, except in its achievements in architecture and painting. In administration it produced no first-rate genius except Sadulluah Khan, and in arms only commanders of mediocre ability like Nusrat Jang and Zafar Jang. Rajah Raghunath and other capable Hindu Diwans were kept down to their subordinate position, because the Shaikhs and Sayyids did not like the rise of a second Todar Mal. The author of *Amal-i-Salḥ* says, 'When the servant of His Majesty represented that it ought to be a custom to appoint a sufficient number of pious Muslims in the Revenue Department, and that so far as possible the Hindus should not be allowed to have a preponderance in offices, so that Sayyids, Shaikhs and men of virtue and piety might not be turned back by them—Rai Manidas was transferred out of this consideration from the *Tan* section of the Treasury and Mullah Abdul Latif Lashkar Khaṇi who was wise in affairs and pure in faith was appointed in his place.'⁴ Similarly no Hindu general rose to the rank of 7,000 zat during his long reign of thirty years. In the field of letters Abdul Hamid and Kambo were poor successors of Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin; while as poets Haji Muhammad Qudsi and Saida Gilani were but sorry figures by the side of Faizi and Urfi Shirazi. According to expert art-critics, painters of Shah Jahan's court such as Manohar, Nadir Samarqandi, and others were even superior in skill to their masters of the Age of Akbar. The Album of Dara Shukoh occupies the same position and has the same interest in the history of the Indo-Persian Painting as the incomparable Taj in the history of Indo-Muslim Architecture. The taper of the Mughal glory indeed burnt brightest before final extinction.

¹ *Pad.*, ii, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, iii, p. 138.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 748.

⁴ Kambo's *Amal-i-Salḥ*, pp. 513, 518, *Padshah-nama* says that Abdul Latif Gujrati was appointed on the demise of Rai Mani Das on 2nd Rabī-ul-awāl, 1042.

The East India Company, Its Origin and Growth prior to Sir William Norris's Embassy—(*Continued*)

BY

HARIHAR DAS

ON April 12, 1686, King James had granted the Company a new charter which confirmed the rights and privileges conferred by the previous charters. It contained a new provision in the right to establish a mint at Madras. With a view to defining more clearly the civil and military administration entrusted to the President of the newly formed head-station at Bombay Sir John Child, the first to fill this post, was appointed 'Captain-General and Admiral of all their forces by sea and land in the northern parts of India from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia.' The militant character given to this office was the first public notification that the Directors of the Company's affairs in London had other views in their minds than those of sale and barter. For a brief space it seemed as if the King were resolved to give them the support of his Government. In July 1686 he sanctioned the issue of a Royal Proclamation requiring all the Company's servants and other English subjects who had taken service with any of the Indian Powers to return to the settlements, a step which had only one meaning as heralding a state of war. He also approved of the despatch of a strong squadron carrying a body of troops equipped by the Company under the command of Captain Nicholson, an officer of the Royal Navy. He also gave commissions to several other naval officers to assist the Company as commanders of their vessels, requiring of all of them an engagement to 'take care that the tenths of all prizes taken and condemned should be paid to the Crown.'¹ The declared object of this expedition was to retaliate for injuries and loss of privileges in Bengal. The instructions of the Court to their local representatives were to commence hostilities with the Mughal and the Nawab of Dacca, and in the first place to capture the port of Chittagong. They were also to conclude a treaty with the king of Arracan.

¹ See p. 325 of *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 14th Report, part 17.

At the same time similar instructions were sent to the west coast where the Company's agents at Surat and Bombay were ordered 'to make and always keep a strict confederacy with Sambujee Rajah who is a warlike prince and to make such terms with him as shall now and for many years to come preserve his interest.' This policy which was not devoid of astuteness received the definite support of the King in Council. It does not seem to have occurred to any of the promoters of this expedition that it might fail in its object. No attempt at negotiation with the officers of the Mughal was to be made before striking the first blow. The attack on Chittagong was to precede the dispatch of letters of remonstrance for past injuries to the Mughal and to the Governor of Dacca.

The hopes reposed in this resort to force were destined to disappointment for the attack on Chittagong failed. This caused naturally enough, the Directors at home much dissatisfaction but nonetheless they resolved to persevere in their hostile measures against the Mughal declaring that they would not conclude a peace until all their legitimate demands were satisfied. A temporary arrangement was come to with the Nawab of Dacca, but its terms were soon broken and the strife was resumed.

Meanwhile the centre of interest had shifted from the Bay of Bengal to the west coast. Sir John Child had been waiting for good news from the Bay before committing himself to definite action. Owing to the critical relations with the governor of Surat he, accompanied by his Council, left Surat on April 25, 1687 for Bombay where he arrived a week later. Whether wisely or not, he then resorted to aggressive measures sending out such ships as were available to intercept and capture all the Mughal ships returning from the Persian Gulf. Thereupon the Surat Governor professed willingness to negotiate on the subject of English grievances ; but in the meantime Child had opened communications with the Maratha chief Sambhuji, in order to obtain his aid against the Mughal. During these negotiations news reached Child that a treaty had been concluded with the Mughal authorities in Bengal. This was early in the year 1689, and in face of this situation, he had to drop the Maratha project and seek an accommodation with the Surat Governor. He presented a list of grievances, but at the same time he moved with all the naval force at his disposal to Swally Bay in the hope of rendering that official more submissive. This step had the contrary effect for

Mukhtar Khan retorted by seizing those representatives of the Company who had remained at Surat as well as their Indian brokers, casting them all into prison. The immediate object of Sir John Child's step was thus thwarted, and the situation was rendered more acute than it had been.

Child had gone too far to retreat without making a further effort to induce or compel the Governor to adopt conciliatory measures. He accordingly fitted out all the vessels at his disposal and sent them to sea with orders to seize all ships flying the Mughal flag. In this manner over forty ships, large and small, were taken and carried into Bombay as prizes. It was stated that these vessels, with others previously captured, represented with their cargoes over a million sterling. To the requests to restore the ships, Child gave defiant answers, but unfortunately for him he had miscalculated his relative strength with that of the Emperor. At that juncture Aurangzib found his hands free to deal with the English traders by the final overthrow of the kingdoms of Bijapore and Golconda in the Deccan. He was in no mood for half-measures, and he ordered his Governors to expel the English from his dominions after they had seized or destroyed their property. This order could not be disobeyed, and the Mughal Admiral, Sidhi Yacout Khan, occupied the island of Bombay. At the same time the factory at Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast was also seized by the local Governor. These humiliations were greatly aggravated by financial losses. Sir John Child had borrowed by order of the Company a sum of not less than £400,000, and he was not in a position to repay any part of it. The expense of the war was stated to be above £400,000 while the indirect loss to the Crown and Company's joint-stock from the interruption of trade was computed at not less than one million sterling.¹ Humiliated in the field of arms and in diplomacy, seriously embarrassed in its financial position all round, the fortunes of the Old Company were at their lowest point when the Crown was transferred from James II to William III.

Having failed in his ambitious policy, Sir John Child had to adopt the more modest course suitable to the times. It was necessary to placate and not to irritate any further the Great Mughal. As he could not dictate terms, he resorted to the humble rôle of a petitioner, and

¹ See C. O. 11 Public Record Office,

craved for favour. In December 1689 he sent two factors, George Weldon and Abraham Navarro, the latter a Jew, to the court of Aurangzib, and he associated with them a Surat merchant named Miah Nezamie who was supposed to be acquainted with the etiquette to be observed in approaching the Emperor and his high officials. On arrival they were refused an audience, but by bribing some of the ministers they were admitted to the presence, only however to encounter a very chilly reception. The Emperor required time to consider what was the proper course. He was not opposed to the foreign trade, and he was also very desirous of securing safety for his ships and subjects on the high seas.

For these reasons he decided to give his ministers leave to negotiate an arrangement with the envoys. They had to encounter other opposition than that of the Mughals. A Dutch agent, one Mr. Baroon, made strong efforts to prejudice the Emperor against the English whom he pictured in a bad light, but Aurangzib seems to have judged the Dutch at their true value as a race of time-servers. The Emperor granted the terms of peace on his own conditions which the envoys were glad enough to accept. Among them were the payment by the Company of a fine of Rs. 150,000, the restoration of all ships and goods taken by the English, and the summary dismissal of Sir John Child who was not to be allowed to remain in India. Sir John had died on February 4, 1690, before the envoys returned from Aurangzib's camp. The Council having agreed to the terms of the peace, the Mughal Admiral evacuated Bombay and in the same year the Company's settlements in Bengal were restored. It was then that Job Charnock took up his permanent settlement at Chuttanuttee, the site of the present City of Calcutta

The whole of the trouble connected with this disastrous war with the Mughal appears to have been due to certain over-ruling members of the Directors' Court at home, Sir Josiah Child in particular, who 'usurped such a despotic power and sovereign authority over all their affairs here as he has taught his emissaries to assume and practice abroad.' The political situation in England was not fully realized at first by the Company's servants at Bombay, who apparently thought that the quarrel between James and his Parliament was a mere passing phase. The seriousness, however, became gradually clear and uncertainty regarding the issue of the Revolution grew greater as the Company's

numerous enemies circulated false reports concerning events in England.

The accession of William and Mary brought new anxieties to the Company who naturally supposed the King would favour the Dutch East India Company. They did not dream that a rival company more formidable to their interests than the Dutch, was to arise in England. On May 7, 1689, England declared war against France, and a treaty between King William and the States-General was concluded with the object of restricting the resources of the enemy. For financial reasons William now favoured the London Company. This enabled them for the time being to deal more effectually with the interlopers to whom little mercy was shown. They, in return, attempted to influence public opinion in England against the Company and to injure their exclusive interests.

The support given to the Company by both Charles II and James II had induced them to aim at sovereign power in India and on that footing deal with the Moguls and the Marathas. This fact becomes clear in a new declaration by the Court of Directors transmitted by them to India for the guidance of the Bombay Council. It is in the following terms :—‘ The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade , ’tis that must make us a nation in India ; without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty’s royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us ; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their Government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade. And the last, viz , revenue, is the soul and life of all the rest. Without that they could not subsist, notwithstanding they have the Spice Islands, Japan and most of the Pepper Trade entirely to themselves.’ The policy thus set forth was, however, frustrated by events consequent upon the Revolution and William’s accession. The oppression practised, and the trade monopoly enjoyed by the Company had produced wide dissatisfaction years before the Revolution. In the *Memoirs of Papillon* we read as follows :—‘ In 1680, when interlopers becoming numerous and many desired that the trade should be thrown open, Papillon published a pamphlet strenuously maintaining that it could be pursued far better by an extensive joint

stock company and his arguments were sound in support of his pamphlet.¹ James Mill also declared that the 'project of opening a subscription for a new Joint, and establishing a rival East India Company was disclosed as early as the year 1682-3. The scheme was so much in favour with the sentiments of the nation, that it was taken into consideration by the King-in-Council.' The interlopers, now become a powerful and compact body, wished to see Sir Josiah Child's autocracy overthrown, that thereby they might obtain a part of the trade monopolized by the Company.

Through the efforts of the interlopers a Committee of the House of Commons on January 16, 1690, expressed the opinion that a new Company should be established by Parliament. The following year the House itself addressed the King asking him to dissolve the Company and incorporated a new one. His Majesty thereupon referred the matter to a Committee of the Privy Council.

The years 1692 and 1693 were marked by the struggle between what we may now begin to call the Old Company and those promoting a new corporation. By a vote in the House of Commons it was resolved to dissolve the existing Company and an address was presented to the King praying him 'to dissolve the present East India Company, according to the powers reserved in their charter, and to establish another Company for the better preserving the trade to this kingdom, in such manner as his Majesty shall see fit.' The Old Company offered strenuous opposition and insisted that their constitution could not be legally amended. So the matter was delayed till the next Parliamentary session. Macaulay gives a vivid account of the struggle. He records how Child and his fellow Directors became seriously alarmed. They had inadvertently omitted, to pay at the proper time a tax lately imposed on their stock. This omission, by the strict letter of the law, actually forfeited their charter, and public feeling ran so strongly against them that the Government would have been widely supported had they taken advantage of it. Child, as the leading spirit in the Company's councils, was now extremely unpopular and fearing lest the interests under his care would suffer through him kept discreetly out of the public notice, and his place was ostensibly

¹ See p. 80 of *Memours of Thomas Papillon*, by A. F. W. Papillon, Reading, 1887.

taken by a 'near kinsman, Sir Thomas Cook, one of the greatest merchants of London, and Member of Parliament for the Borough of Colchester.'¹

During the session of 1693-4 the promoters of the New Company petitioned Parliament to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the unpaid tax. So successfully, however, did the Old Company plead their case that in spite of all opposition they obtained a new charter. Enquiry afterwards showed that they expended at this time a sum of £170,000 presumably in 'bribing courtiers and members of Parliament.'² In spite of all their charters the position on the Old Company was never more precarious than now. In 1695 Parliament held an enquiry into a charge of corruption brought against Sir Thomas Cook and several others for 'divers indirect practices.' It was discovered that over £100,000 had been spent in secret service. Among the recipients were certain high public officials and the Duke of Leeds, better known as the Earl of Danby. It was indeed asserted at one time that King William himself had received £10,000, although it was claimed that the money was used for the public service. The Old Company asserted that their opponents might equally have been accused of corruption. Such practices had apparently increased since the Revolution. Lord Halifax, writing from London to Lord Hyde on September 27, 1681, mentions the Company's intention of giving a 'yearly present to the King of £10,000.'³ They 'expended great sums of the Company's money, which stands charg'd in their Books under the title of Secret services; besides the several 10,000 Guineas which they did present to the two late kings.'⁴ In spite, however, of extensive bribery it was felt that the King could not be advised to renew the Company's powers without making some concessions to their opponents. So the Directors reluctantly acquiesced in some very important modifications.

Returning now to the Company's affairs in India, we learn that Sir John Goldesborough was sent out as 'Commissary General and Supervisor'. He arrived at Madras on November 23, 1691-2. Soon

¹ See vol. v, p. 2377 of *Macaulay's History of England*, edited by Prof. C. H. Firth (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London).

² See *The Somers Collection of Tracts*, vol. xv, B.M.

³ See vol. 1, p. 63 of *Hyde Correspondence*, B.M.

⁴ See *Johnson Papers*, pp. 22, 185, B.M.

after Sir John Gayer was appointed to succeed President Harris as Governor of Bombay where he arrived on May 17, 1694. Both were sent to strengthen the Company's position by asserting their rights against local abuses and the action of interlopers. They were to put into practice the Directors' axiom that the 'Ballancing of Power is the Truest Art of Government', that is to say, consistent and persistent shifting from one side to the other as the interest of the moment prompted, which has been a marked feature ever since in English policy, not only in Asia but in Europe.

At this period the Company was called upon to cope with a new and unexpected problem which not merely imposed a severe strain on its resources, but entailed bitter and long drawn-out controversies and disputes with the officers of the Mughal Emperor. While recognizing the embarrassing position in which the Company was placed through no fault or complicity of its own, it is indisputable that the latter had a legitimate grievance and that the anger of the Emperor was quite intelligible and altogether natural. The growth of piracy in these latter years, the attendant outrages in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea of which Indian subjects of all ranks were the victims, imparted a new aspect to the efforts to promote trade between Europe and India, and darkened the prospect of success at the very moment when it seemed as if the difficulties attending such an undertaking were overcome.

The early years of the seventeenth century had witnessed a great development in naval activity. All the principal European nations had followed the examples of Portugal and Spain in endeavouring to establish trade centres and naval stations along the coasts of Southern and Eastern Asia. There was keen competition between them, and hostile collisions were not infrequent. But piracy was not in evidence. The ships of the country powers were not molested and had free passage so far at least as any of the Europeans were involved. All were agreed that for success in their demands for favours from the Emperor or other potentates, a good reputation was the first essential. This condition of things underwent no change till the seventeenth century was drawing near its end. The change might not have occurred at all but for the appearance of the interlopers.

All the Europeans were monopolists, that is to say, they traded through the agency of specially chartered companies which denied the right of participation to those of their nationals who were outside

their privileged association. This monopoly could not be long respected, and the reports of the wealth of the East substantiated by the large profits of each voyage to the Company's shareholders incited many adventurous individuals to commission ships for the Eastern trade on their own account. These men also were traders and nothing else. They refrained from violence. Their object was to propitiate the good will of the peoples whom they sought in trade. The Company treated these encroachers on their privileges as open enemies, and resorted to all the means in their power to extirpate them ; but as they were not concerned in their quarrels the country powers looked on with indifference at this conflict of authority between two classes whom they regarded as identical.

After the union between the Dutch and the English was brought about by the accession of William III to the throne on the fall of the Stuart dynasty, and more especially after the battle of La Hogue which began the decline of France as a naval power, there was a marked falling off in the openings left for naval men, and moreover this decrease in employment was accentuated by the financial exhaustion felt by all the powers as the consequence of the long wars. In such a situation it was not surprising that some of the bolder or more reckless spirits nurtured in warlike scenes should have turned to those lawless adventures which are generally classified under the heading of piracy. Just as the affair of the interlopers was showing diminution these new agents of mischief appeared upon the scene, and for a time made the Indian Ocean the principal centre of their efforts. These men were not traders, they were the despoilers of those who carried on trade ; and as they assailed the weakest, it was the Indian and Arab ships trading or carrying pilgrims to the ports of the Red Sea that were their chief victims. An entirely new position was thus created to which the Mughal authorities could not be in complication different, and their natural indignation produced a serious threatening to put an end to all trade intercourse with any Europeans whatever.

Biddulph tells us that the greatest sufferers from piracy were the English, because the majority of the pirates were of English blood and pirate captains of other nationalities often flew the English flag. Thus the Mughal officials, unable to distinguish rogues from honest traders, held the Company's servants responsible for all piratical

misdeeds. The following extract dated January 2, 1698, written by the Viceroy of Goa to the King of Portugal, amply confirms Biddulph:—‘The men on board the corsair’s ships being chiefly composed of Englishmen. In fact, it is believed that all Englishmen are corsairs, who sell in Bombay all they can steal at sea. If our frigates meet them at sea they produce the Company’s papers, and we can do nothing with them: but when they come across our merchantmen they rob them, and the Company then excuse themselves by saying the ships are pirates.’¹

In September 1695, a famous pirate named Henry Every² captured two vessels. One, the *Fateh Muhammad*, the property of Abdool Guffoor and the other, the *Gang-i-Sawai* belonging to the Mughal. The latter was returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca and had on board a number of Mohammedan ladies including a royal princess. They were brutally treated. ‘Several of the women threw themselves into the sea or slew themselves with daggers, the last piece of silver was sought out and carried on board the *Fancy*, the last jewel torn from the passengers and crew, and then the *Gang Sawai* was left to find its way to Surat as it best could.’ The ship was reported to have had treasure aboard to the value of fifty-two lakhs of rupees and the pirate crews are said to have received prize money amounting to about £1,000.³

The news of this outrage caused great excitement at Surat where it was regarded as an insult to the Mohammedan faith. The popular anger became uncontrollable.⁴ The Mughal Governor, Itimad Khan, was compelled to place guards on the Company’s factory and warehouse. President Annesley, his Council and other Englishmen were confined till the end of June, 1696. Soon after news of another piracy by Every arrived and the position of the English became

¹ See p. 373 of *The Portuguese in India*, by F. C. Danvers.

² His real name was Bridgman and he was the son of a trading captain of Plymouth. He had served in the navy and in that capacity made several voyages to the West Indies. Every was an educated man and during his piratical career in the Indian seas he only attacked Indian ships. After amassing a large fortune he returned to England, and died in extreme poverty in Devonshire. See pp. 17-31 of Biddulph’s *The Pirates of Malabar*.

³ See Notes on Piracy in the Indian Ocean in the *Indian Antiquary*, by S. C. Hill.

⁴ See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v.

worse. Annesley and Sir John Gayer from Bombay complained to the Governor, the Emperor and his ministers, protesting the Company's innocence and demanding the release of its servants. Sir John even offered armed ships to convoy pilgrims to Jedda and Mocha on condition that the Mughal would grant exclusive trading privileges to the Company. The appeal had some effect as an answer came from the Imperial camp asking the English, French and Dutch to scour the seas and destroy the pirates, but continuing the embargo on all trade till the innocence or guilt of the London Company should be produced.¹

At last piracies became so frequent that Sir John Gayer wrote home to the Directors pointing out how greatly they were injuring the Company's trade and reputation. In 1697 the pirates took a Turkish ship, the *Great Mahomet*, belonging to Hussain Hamedon containing treasure estimated at Rs. 18,50,000. The crews shared £800 per man. The following year a Captain Kidd took an Armenian vessel, the *Quedah Merchant*, with enormous booty. For this he and six others were tried and hanged in 1701.² Matters became so bad that the Governor of Surat placed guards on the English, Dutch and French factories until they should agree to indemnify the Indian merchants for their losses. Sir John Gayer protested in vain. The Governor, acting on the Mughal's order, presented the Company's factory with an ultimatum requiring compensation for losses sustained from pirates, an undertaking to clear the seas of them and the provision of sufficient convoys for the pilgrim ships. The Company was just as anxious as the Emperor himself to destroy the marauders ; did not, however, possess the means of doing so.

This fact, perhaps, has not been appreciated by the commentators of the early voyages of the East India Company. Their ships had means of self-defence in guns and gunners, but they were not really equipped for warlike purposes. Their range of action was strictly limited. They had no halting stations on the route to India. There were available to them no depôts for arms, ammunition or stores. Moreover they carried cargoes and were to receive others at either Surat or Bombay. Their mission was to reach their destination as

¹ See Forrest, *Selections of State Papers*.

² Lord Birkenhead, *The Famous Trials in History*

speedily as possible and not to dally on the way. They were not ordered to chase pirates but to avoid them.

On the other hand the pirates were not embarrassed by any consideration of cargoes. They were equipped for war, and when they plundered their prizes they did not burden themselves with any heavy plunder. Their attention was given to treasure, jewels, luxuries and such stores in the shape of food or ammunition, as they might have need of. They sailed light in anticipation of fight or flight. But over and above those advantages they possessed another in the acquisition of stations and depôts along the coast of Madagascar and at Johanna. Here they were quite secure against the efforts of the Company's vessels, so secure indeed that the latter never dreamt of molesting them in their strong and secret lairs obtained by formal conventions with the local chiefs. It required a regular naval force to root them out. The Company did not possess it. The four frigates sent by the English Government to accompany Sir William Norris were the first squadron fit to cope with these sea marauders and to strike home against them in their hiding places and depôts where they not merely accumulated their plunder but acquired in continually increasing quantities the supplies for fresh depredations. The Mughal Emperor in his wrath might not acquit the servants of the Company of blame, but in reality they were helpless. It was an affair quite outside their power and responsibility and referable to the British navy alone. They could, therefore, only temporize to gain time. The Emperor was imperative; the English must either give the guarantees demanded or be expelled. An armed Mughal force was sent to blockade and, if necessary, attack the Surat Factory. All the persons connected with the Factory's operations in the city were arrested, publicly whipped and imprisoned. The Dutch promptly surrendered to the Governor's demands and, in spite of Gayer's opposition, so did the English, but only when their factory was surrounded and the lives of the occupants threatened. Finally, English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy and signed bonds jointly agreeing to make good all future losses. This was the darkest moment in the Company's fortunes at Surat, their trade being almost wiped out as an indirect consequence of piratical activities. The Portuguese were not included in the responsibility for guarding the seas as their sea-borne commerce had by this time become almost extinguished. The

authorities at home contributed little to the suppression of piracy which, we have it on Mr. Hill's authority, continued till the year 1721.

Commenting on this period Professor Sarkar suggests that 'all these troubles could have been avoided and an amicable settlement made with the Delhi Government, if the European nations that traded in India could have come to some agreement with the Emperor as to their remuneration for policing the Indian Ocean and organized some concerted action against the pirates. But the escort hire offered by the Emperor was too niggardly ; the Dutch plotted against the English at the court of the Surat Governor ; the English themselves were a house divided against itself. . .'

At this period the British Government having been led under the guidance of the new King, William of Orange, to become a party to the Grand Alliance against France found itself in great difficulties to procure the means for the prosecution of hostilities on the Continent from which England had rigidly abstained for the better part of two centuries. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the affairs of the East India Company were thrust into the background as much as possible, and that their views and interests were far from attracting public attention. This position of things provided their rivals among private merchants and interlopers with the opportunity that they had long been seeking, to undermine and, if possible, to supersede the privileged status which the Company had enjoyed from the commencement of the seventeenth century now drawing towards its close. A warning of what was coming was afforded when in 1696-7 the Company failed to obtain Parliamentary sanction for their charter, and for the rights they had long held under it. Not merely did they meet with refusal in the House of Commons, but the attendant circumstances compelled them to recognize that a hostile association with powerful influences behind it was set upon supplanting them, and usurping their place. Promoters of the proposed New Company started active propaganda against the monopolies enjoyed by the Old Company and the latter retaliated with a number of pamphlets. Each side did its best to obtain the concessions desired. One clever pamphleteer on the Old Company's side thus quaintly argued :—' the pulling down this Company to set up a new one, may be as unsuccessful, as it would be to grub up a flourishing well-grown orchard, in the strength and prime time of its bearing fruit, to plant a new orchard in

the same place, in hopes to have more and better cyder : whereas a new plantation yields little fruit and the worst cyder.¹

The war of polemics between the contesting rivals continued without flagging, but in the year 1698 the private merchants took a definite step by renewing their application to Parliament. The Government took advantage of the opportunity to reveal its own views by announcing that it had pressing need of a loan of £2,000,000 and that it would regard favourably the claims of those who provided that sum. The London Company immediately offered a loan of £700,000 at 4 *per cent*, a low rate of interest certainly, but an amount insufficient for the needs of the Government. Notwithstanding the official attitude the House of Commons showed a disposition to confirm the offer by granting the Company the exclusive trading rights which it claimed as the condition of its loan. Faced with the prospect of failure the new Association gathering up all its resources offered to raise the sum of two millions as required by the Government, but on the other hand it fixed the interest at the higher rate of 8 *per cent*, claiming at the same time the concession of exclusive rights with regard to the Indian trade. This offer satisfied the needs of the Government, and those who made it were therefore assured of official support. A bill was consequently introduced in Parliament in their favour, and on the London Company presenting a petition against it, they were informed that if they would provide the necessary sum on the same terms as their opponents, their privileges would be confirmed and continued. It is not clear why the Old Company declined this offer, but circumstances being what they were, they should have realized that their refusal entailed their inevitable defeat. The House of Commons thereupon passed the Bill, and the House of Lords after full deliberation did likewise, the bill thus becoming law with the King's assent on July 5, 1698.

Although the Old Company would not strain its resources by undertaking the large loan stipulated for the King's Government it made a strenuous fight in the House of Lords for the preservation of what it deemed its juridical rights and position. It was represented by two of the most eminent counsel of the day, Sir Thomas Powis and

¹ *Some Consideration Offered Touching the East India Affairs*, pamphlet, Bodleian,

Sir Bartholomew Shower, who expatiated on what the Company had accomplished in increasing the wealth of the nation by developing the trade with India under its original charter several times confirmed and renewed. To this the opposing counsel responded that its rights were held under a terminal condition of three years' notice, that it was *ultra vires* for the King to grant without the sanction of Parliament exclusive rights, and that such rights being based on past and present expenditure of money would, were they granted, have no moral sanction.

By this Act a Corporation was created to which the King might grant a charter with the sanction of the Legislature. The subscribers to the loan which provided the foundation of the new arrangement were to form a corporate body under the style of the General Society. The next step was the appointment by His Majesty of Commissioners to receive subscriptions, and books were opened to that effect at Mercers' Hall in Cheapside on Thursday, July 14, 1698, at 9 a.m. The list was closed on Saturday, July 16, when the whole amount had been subscribed. Twenty-four persons were appointed Trustees for the General Society and the same number chosen as Directors of the New Company.¹ The constitution was similar to that of the Old Company. There were many distinguished subscribers to the loan and among them the Commissioners of the Treasury who, in order to encourage the public, placed a sum of £10,000 in the name of the King. Sir William Wilson Hunter in his book gives the impression that the King himself contributed this, but the transaction was, in actual fact, between the Treasury and the Company.² The Old Company, with astute foresight, invested through John Dubois £315,000, thus becoming the largest shareholder and most influential partner in the General Society. This stroke secured half the trade of India for the Old Company.

On September 5, a royal charter was sealed in favour of 'The English Company trading to the East Indies.' It contained important clauses. 'The New or English Company was empowered to trade to the extent of their capital, to augment their capital stock and erect Courts of Judicature in India as the Old Company had done. One

¹ See *London Gazette*, July 11, 18, 25, August 8, 1698.

² See p. 136 of *John Company* by Sir William Foster and compare it with p. 318, vol. 11, of *A History of British India*, by Sir W. W. Hunter.

highly important provision contained in the charter was that a duty of 5 *per cent* on all Indian imports should be ear-marked for the maintenance of ambassadors appointed by the King on the nomination of the Company. Parliament had now established its right to control the terms governing the Indian trade and from this time forward important changes in the Company's constitution required legislative sanction. The New Company was granted a Coat of Arms with the motto *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ*—‘a clever intimation that the Company's privileges rested alike on a royal charter and an Act of Parliament.’¹

Within a few days after the charter was granted, the Company proposed to send an ambassador to the Court of the Great Mughal and subsequently nominated Sir William Norris, Bart., M.P. The Old Company, having watched these proceedings with grave anxiety, sent information of them to their President and Council at Fort St George. They pointed out that Norris' mission would, in their opinion, injure English trade in India and expressed the hope that with the help of their own agents they might frustrate the designs of the New Company. At the same time they intimated a desire to send out Dr. Charles Davenant, M.P., ‘a person of eminent parts and experience.’² Similar information was sent also to the other agents in India; but ultimately the proposal was dropped.

The New Company, before their Ambassador's departure, appointed Presidents for the three chief seats of trade in India. They were—for Bengal, Sir Edward Littleton, for Masulipatam, Mr. John Pitt; and for Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite. These were invested with Consular rank that they might have a better standing than the Presidents of the Old Company. Early in January, 1698, Sir Edward Littleton received his commission and instructions. He was to enquire as to the trade privileges enjoyed by the English throughout the Mughal's dominions, the *phirmaunds* on which these were based and to find out if they ought to be increased. The Court of Directors

¹ See p. 27 of *Relics of the East India Company*.

² Dr. Davenant was the son of Sir William Davenant the poet. He became a Commissioner of Excise during the reign of James II, and his book on the *Balance of Trade* contained many libels on the Ministry. He was a member of the House of Commons, but never made his mark as a speaker. See vol. ii, p. 398 of *Hyde Correspondence*, edited by Singer, B.M. See also pp. 139, 154-5 of *Letter Book 10*, India Office.

desired information and advice on these points and to be furnished, if possible, with copies of the *phirmaunds*. He was further instructed also to send copies to Sir William Norris, with notes of any infringements to which they might have been subjected. The same instructions, with slight variations, were given to Consul Pitt. Those to Sir Nicholas Waite expressly enjoined him to give the Ambassador all possible assistance. The Directors hoped that a sum of £20,000 would cover the expenses of the embassy, but laid emphasis on their preference for its expeditious conclusion even at considerably greater cost.¹

Littleton arrived with the *Antelope*² at Ballasore Roads on July 4, 1699. About three weeks later he announced himself as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation in Bengal to Mr. John Beard, President of the Old Company and his Council. At the same time he reported the appointment of an Ambassador. Then ensued a lengthy correspondence between the two rival Presidents as to the respective positions of the two Companies. Beard declined to acknowledge Littleton's authority³ Nevertheless the latter soon had his Council constituted and his factory organized.

Consul John Pitt on the *Degrave* anchored in Madras Roads on July 28, having been preceded on the 3rd by the *London* with his principal factors aboard. He at once announced his character and standing, in terms similar to those used by Littleton, to his namesake, President Thomas Pitt, at Fort St. George. The latter bluntly declined to acknowledge his authority, sent him a 'scurrilous letter' and would neither order a salute nor lower his flag at the Consul's orders. Consul Pitt then sailed for Masulipatam where he arrived in August and lost no time in constituting a Council and organizing a factory. Later on he sent to President Thomas Pitt a communication in which he demanded that his commission should be publicly read at Fort St. George. To this the Old Company's President responded on August 23, with a defiant Order in Council, that none were to obey orders from Consul Pitt of the English Company.

¹ See O. C. 55, part 1, also *Letter Book*, xi, p. 48.

² This ship and three others formed the first equipment, for the English Company carried altogether in stock and goods to the value of £225,700. See *Bruce's Annals*.

³ See Rawl. A. 302, Bodleian.

Sir Nicholas Waite did not arrive at Bombay till January 11, 1699–1700. Like his colleagues in Bengal and Masulipatam he announced himself as the King's Minister and Consul-General to Sir John Gayer, representative of the Old Company. He got the same reception as the other two and finding he could make no impression on Gayer and his Council sailed for Surat where he arrived on January 19. There he notified his Commission to the President and Council of the London Company, ordered them to strike St. George's flag and to hoist his own. They refused to comply and were supported by the Mughal Governor, Dianat Khan,¹ who informed Waite that no commission from the King of England had authority at Surat unless it was duly admitted by order of the Mughal. Regarding all this as an affront to his official dignity, Waite, after a long correspondence with the President of the Old Company, resolved to use force. Accordingly on January 27, he landed two ship-captains and forty men at Swally with orders to haul down the Old Company's flag. This action was taken as an insult to his master by the Mughal Governor, and resented as such by him.² At Surat Waite also, like the others, constituted a Council, choosing men who appeared best qualified in his judgment.

News of the New Company's formation had reached Surat some time ahead of its officials. The *Shrewsbury Gally*, an interloping ship, had arrived on April 7, 1699, and brought a letter to one Thomas Lucas containing full information of recent events in England.³ The news that an Ambassador was coming out to India created a sensation at Surat and was warmly welcomed by the interlopers there. On the Mughal Governor hearing of all this he summoned President Colt of the Old Company together with certain of his colleagues and several well-known Indian merchants to meet him. Mr. Lucas produced the Act of Parliament and the President declared he would acknowledge it. He pointed out to the Governor, however, that even under the terms of the Act the Old Company might still trade freely for three years yet and would uphold their rights. He further assured the Governor that under any circumstances the Old Company would pay their debts. Thereupon the Governor, having obtained from the members present

¹ Succeeded Amanat Khan in January 1699–1700.

² See Bruce's *Annals*.

³ See O.C. 55, part i, India Office.

an undertaking not to leave the town without his knowledge, allowed them to withdraw from his presence.¹

Returning now to events in England, we find a stern struggle in progress, between the rival Companies respecting their rights and privileges. The Old Company faced the situation boldly knowing that their charter would be valid still for three years, further, as corporate subscribers to the General Society, they had a right to continue trading even after the expiry of their charter. Possessing already forts and factories in India, they determined to prosecute their trade there with even greater zeal, and instructed their agents accordingly. Professor Scott says, 'The Old Company owing to its longer establishment in India had the advantage of a larger share in the trade than the Act allowed, but it was subject to obstacles thrown in its way by the House of Commons in the interest of the New Company.'² At the very outset Sir John Gayer was instructed to secure from the Mughal immediately a *phirmaund* in order to forestall the Ambassador in his efforts on behalf of the New Company. The agents at Fort St. George and in Bengal were also instructed to consolidate their position there.

Meanwhile the New Company had suggested a compromise. Being in financial straits and their stock having depreciated, they made overtures towards coalition with the Old Company.³ The latter, at a General Court of Adventurers on January 13, 1698-9, expressed their willingness to agree and remitted consideration of the matter to the Grand Committee consisting of fifty-two members. At a further meeting on February 7, it was resolved that seven members of the Old Company should be empowered to treat with seven of the New Company. The fourteen met in the Skinner's Hall on March 22. Before this, however, an Act continuing the Old Company as a corporation was passed on February 24, 1699. Following on this the King, while assuring them of his favour and protection, recommended union between the Companies to their serious consideration. Protracted negotiations regarding the settlement of stock between the Companies went on almost to the end of the year. At last, on December 22, 1699, at a meeting in Skinner's Hall, something like a

¹ See O. C. 54.

² See *Joint-Stock Companies*, by W. R. Scott, C. U. Press.

³ Peter Amber,

deadlock occurred and the parties separated without reaching agreement.¹ Persistent efforts to damage the credit of the New Company culminated in 1701 when agents of the Old Company engineered a run on the Bank of England which had lent money to the former. By this means it was hoped to cripple or curtail the New Company's activities in India.²

There were some who imagined that the foundation of the New Company was a political move engineered by the Dutch with a view to destroy English trade and influence in India. This suggestion will not bear critical examination for although William III was a thorough-going Dutchman and took little thought of promoting English interests except in so far as they tended to further his own ambitious policy on the Continent, he was fully conscious of the fact that the one sure way of endangering his own position would be by taking any steps calculated to revive the scarcely healed naval and colonial strife between the two states which were so recently united in his own person. The naval co-operation of England was essential to the maintenance of his hold on the Channel, and his thoughts were concentrated on the recovery of his losses on land confirmed in great part by the treaty of peace recently signed at Ryswyck.

At the time when Sir William Norris arrived as Ambassador in India and during the immediately succeeding period the English factories were in a precarious condition owing to uncertainty in the situation of the two Companies both in India and at home. As already noted, Company's servants were held responsible for piracies and so suffered much at the hands of the Mughal Governors who continued demanding large sums to indemnify the Emperor's subjects for their losses. To these troubles there was added the great probability of civil war owing to Aurangzib's advanced age. There was also the latter's almost ceaseless warfare with the Marathas. Disorder and lawlessness seemed to prevail everywhere. The Mughal Empire was held together only by the continued existence of the aged Emperor. Professor Sarkar justly remarked: 'He, surrounded by sycophants and nobles of his own creation, who had neither the courage to correct his errors, nor the honesty to give disinterested advice, was drawing near the end of his days.'

¹ See Ms. Rawl A. 302.

² See *Joint-Stock Companies*, by Scott,

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The state of affairs between the two Companies, their conflicting claims and clashing interests, has been explained in the preceding pages. Something also has been said about the position in India where the alien Mughal dynasty had reached its zenith and was approaching its decline which was destined to proceed rapidly. This exordium seemed necessary to explain the circumstances under which Sir William Norris was to make the attempt to discharge his dual mission as King William's Ambassador and as the representative of the New Company which, without the knowledge and beyond the ken of the ruling powers in India, claimed to have acquired the sole and exclusive right of trading within their dominion so far as the English nation was concerned.

HARIHAR DAS.

[*Note* —The above article is a more detailed and complete study of this subject than the one which appeared in the May-June (1925) number of the *Calcutta Review* —H D]

The Kalabhras in South India

BY

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SOUTH Indian inscriptions, not to speak of South Indian literature mention a people called Kalabhras. They seem to have been a powerful tribe who held sway over the whole of South India for several years together. Some of the kings who belonged to this dynasty appear to have been powerful soldiers who were able to defeat the ancient Tamil kings and bring them to utter subjection. The identity of these Kalabhras is yet an unsolved problem. The question has engaged the attention of scholars like the late Gopinatha Row, A. Rangaswami Sarasvati and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Mr. Gopinatha Row¹ in a footnote on p. 49 to his edition the *Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola* remarks : 'Śuvaran Māraṇ *alias* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan II, is that Muttaraiyar who came to receive Nandivarman Pallavamalla according to a mutilated inscription found in the Vaikuntanāthapperumāl temple at Conjeevaram.' Śuvaran Māraṇ is styled *Kalvara-Kalvan*, the *Kalvan* of *Kalavans*. The word *Kalavara* might probably have been rendered into Sanskrit *Kaṭabhra*. Thus in the opinion of Mr. Gopinatha Row, the *Kaṭabhras* might be identified with the *Mutturaiyars*. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is also of the opinion that the *Kaṭabhras* were *Kalvar* of the region immediately north of Tondaimandalam belonging to the same family as that of the Muttaraiyar.² But examining the epigraphical references in the light of literature, there is no satisfactory evidence to identify the *Kaṭabhras* with the *Mutturaiyars*. On the other hand there is strong testimony to indicate that these *Kaṭabhras* are different from them. From the inscriptions at Sendalai³ and other places, Muttaraiyars appear to have been the viceroys of the

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xv, April 1919.

² *History of the Pallavas*, Intro., pp. xxii and xxiii.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xiii, pp. 136 ff.

Pallavas and their powerful adherents in the south. According to the Vaikuṇṭhanāthaperumāl temple inscription at Conjeevaram, a Muttaraiyan came to receive Nandivarman Pallavamalla at his installation. This means these Muttaraiyars were on friendly terms with the Pallavas. In another inscription of the same Pallava monarch—Korramangalam plates¹ occurs the following informing lines:—

Here the Kalabhras figure among those royal chieftains who were on inimical terms with the Pallavamalla. The absence of mention of the Muttaraiyars and the mention of the Kalabhras in this Korramangalam plates proves that the Kalabhras are a quite different people from the Muttaraiars, the ally-chieftains of the Pallava monarch.

Again these kings are called Kalabhras in the Velvikudi plates. They are so described even in the Tamil portions of that historic document and that in verse. If 'Kalabhra' is a Sanskrit mutilation of the word 'Kalvar' and these kings are really Muttaraiyars or Kalvars, they would have been called in their pure form as Kalvars in the Tamil inscriptions and not in the corrupted Sanskrit form. But, on the other hand, even in composing the verses the poet seems to have been careful to preserve the name 'Kalabhra.' Neither could it be suggested that they fought shy of the word 'Kalvar' as a term of reproach for in those ancient days that name seems to have been considered as an honour by that community. So one chieftain called 'Pulli' is styled 'Kalvar Kōmān' in the Sangham works and another Perumbiḍugu Mutturayan boasts himself as 'Kalvara-kalvan or 'the Kalvan of Kalvans' in the Śendalai Pillar inscriptions. So the Kalabhras could not be the Muttarayars or Kalvars as has been conjectured by some scholars.

The Kaḷappālar were a well-known dynasty of people who figured prominently and for a very long time in the history of South India and they seem to belong to the Vellāḷa community. There are a

¹ Vide *Sen Tamil*, vol. xxii, pp. 196 ff.

यस्य बहुभकलभ्रकरलाः

पाण्ड्यचोलतुलुगोङ्गणादयः ।

द्वारदेशसमयाभिकाङ्क्षिणः

सेवितुन्निरवकाशमासते ॥

number of references to them both in literary and epigraphical records. From the Tiruppugalūr inscription, we hear of a Kalappālarājā by name Nerkunram Kīlār. This chieftain is Nerkunravāṇar referred to in the Tiruppugalūr-andādi,¹ and a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttar.² Again the name of the father of Maikandādēvar, the chief of the Śaiva Santhāna-achārya is Achyuta Kalappālar. In my opinion he must have belonged to the Kalappāla family. Still again belong to this family Vaḍamalai, one of the Tamil ministers of Krishnadeva Raya, and his brother Haridāsa, the author of *Iruṣamaya-vilakkam*. These are some members of the Kalappālar family of a later date. Among the early chieftains of this family, Kūrruva-Nāyanār, one of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs, celebrated by Saint Sundaramūrti in *Tiruttondattokai*³ seems to have been a prominent figure. Nambiāṇḍār Nambi refers to this Nāyanar with the epithet ‘கனப்பாளனாகிய கூற்றுவனே’ That Kūrruvanāyanār was a great warrior who brought the powerful Tamil kings to subjection and held aloft his victorious banner is seen from references made by Śēkkiḷār.⁴ Another point of greater interest is that in spite of the fact of his having conquered all the land he held out a request to Tillaivāḷ-andaṇar (Brahmans of Chidambaram) to have him duly crowned. They refused to crown him, as he was a member of the Vellāḷa caste who were debarred from being crowned according to the then existing customs of the land. Thereafter Kūrruva Nāyanar appealed to the God Śiva enshrined in Tillaḷ (Chidambaram), and the Lord was pleased to grant

¹ “ஆரகொண்ட வேற்கூற்றன களந்தைக கோன’ (தேவாரம்)

² ‘கனப்பாள னெற்குணம வாணனநாதிக கலித்தறையே.’

³ ‘ஒதந தழுவி ய ஞாலமெல்லா மொருகோலின வைத்தான கோதை நெடுவேற கனப்பாளனாகிய கூற்றுவனே”

(*Tirutthondar Tiruvandādi*)

⁴ ‘அருளின வலியா லரசொதுக வவனியெல்லா மடிப்படுப்பா பொருளின முடிவு காண்பரிய வகையாற் பொலிந்த திகல்கிறக மருளுக கன்று பாய்புரவி மணித்தேர் படைஞா முதனமாற்றா வெருளுக கருவி நானகுநிறை வீரசு செருக்கின மேலாஞா’

‘வென்றி வினையின மீககூர வேந்தா முனைகன பலமுருக்கிசு சென்று தம்பைத துறைமுடித்துசு செருவில் வாகைத திறங்கெழுமி மன்றன மாலை மினைந்தவர்தம் வனநாடெல்லாங் கவாநதுமுடி ஒன்று மொழிய வரசாநிரு வெல்லாமுடைய ராயினா’

(பெரியபுராணம் கூற்றுவ.)

him his sandals (சிருவடிகளை). With this, it is said, that he continued to rule the land.

Again a still more remarkable chief of this line was Achyuta. He also conquered the Chōla, Chēra and Pāṇḍya kings of the south and reigned over the whole of the Tamil land. There is an interesting reference to his prowess and valour found in the *Tamil Nāvalar Charitai*.¹ Here the three Tamil kings who had been subjugated by Achyuta Kalappālan give vent to the greatness of the conquering king. While the Chēra and the Chōla monarchs hailed his own splendid prowess in battle, the proud Pāṇḍya king spoke incidentally of his greatness humbled by the might of the Kalappāla. Hence he was punished by another iron chain, which was only released on the Pāṇḍya singing the glories of Achyuta. There is again another reference to his meritorious deeds found mentioned in a long *Kaḷu* verse.² What is more valuable is that stanza is attributed to an ancient poet Vilakkattanār ;

- 1 ' அச்சுதகளப்பாளன் தவளயிட்டபோது மூவேந்தர்கள் பாடியவை '

தினைவினைத்தார் முற்றந் திளையுணங்குரு செநநெல
தனைவினைத்தாரா முற்றமது தாலும்—கணேசர்
முரசுணங்குச் சங்குணங்கு முரித்தோத தானை
அரசுணங்கு மச்சுதனமுற மதது—இது சேரன் பாடியது

' அரசா குலதிலக னசசுதனமும் மததில்
அரச ரவதரித்த வநநாள—முரசுதிரக
கொட்டிவிடு மோசையினுங் கோவேந்தர் காற்றனையை
வெட்டிவிடு மோசை மிகும்' —இது சோழன் பாடியது

' குறையுளா ரெங்கிரா கூாவே விராம
னிறையறு திங்க னிருந்தான—முறைமையால்
ஆலிக்குந தானை யலங்குதா ரச்சுதமுன
வாலிக கிளையான வரை' —இது பாண்டியன் பாடியது

' இது பாடியபின் ஒரு விலங்கு கூடப் போட்டபின் பாண்டியன் பாடியது.

' குடகா குணகடலென ரூத்தாரா குடகாக
கிடகா வடகடலென ரூத்தாரா—வடகடலர்
தெனகட லெனரூத்தாரா தில்லையச்சு தானநதன்
முனகடைநின் ரூர்க்கு முரசு" (தமிழநாவலா சரிதை)
- 2 ' அடுதிற லொருவநிற பரவது மெங்கோன
தொடுகமும் கொடுமீழூட பகட்டெழின மார்பிற
கயலொடு கலந்த சிலையுடைக கொடுவரிப்
புயலுறழ் தடகைகப் போர்வே லச்சுதன்
தொனறுமுதிர் கடலுலக முழுதுடன்
ஒனறுபு திகிரி யுருட்டுவோ னெனவே '

and more interesting is the fact that Amitasāgarar, the author of the *Karikai* has included these lines in his work. He belongs roughly to the eleventh century A.D.¹ From the lines of Viḷakkat-tanār it is evident that Achyuta had subjugated the three South Indian kings. Achyuta was also known as Nandi from the literary evidence available.²

These references unmistakably show that both Achyuta and Kūrruva-Nāyanār were two celebrated kings of the Kalappāla line. It is indeed difficult to fix their dates. From the commencement of the seventh century A.D. the kings who ruled South India were the Pandyas and the Pallavas. They were very powerful and no one dared to disturb them. Hence it is reasonable to assume that these Kalappālars must have held sway some time before the seventh century A.D. To this extent again the Vēlvikuḍi grants bear witness. In this all important grant there occurs

“அளவரிய ஆதிராசரை யகலக்கி யகலிடத்தை
கனப்ரனெனுங் கலியரைசன் கைக்கொண்டு”

It means that the Kalabhra defeated the three ancient kings of the land (ஆதிராசரை) and took possession of the whole (country). Here it must be noted that the Kalabhra is called *Kaliyaraśan*. It has been ingeniously suggested that this may refer to the *Kalikula* mentioned in the Kopparam inscription of Puḷukesin II.³ The term *Kaliyaraśan* simply means ‘a cruel king’. This interpretation is found in the ancient works *Jivaka-chintāmani*⁴ and *Chūḷāmani*. Most important of all is the use of the term in that very sense in the Vēlvikuḍi grant itself in speaking about Neḍuñjaḍaiyan : ‘கலியரைசன் வலிதளரப் பொலிவ்ஞெடு வீற்றிருந்து’. The Kalabhra king of the Vēlvikuḍi grant must refer either to Achyuta or Kūrruva Nāyanār. For the term *Kūrruvan* simply connotes the same idea as the expression

¹ Vide my article in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. II

² “பொருகுடை வளாக மொருகுடை நிழற்றி

இருபிறப் பாளர்க ளீது மனமகிழந்து

அருள் புரி பெரும்புக ழசக்த கோவே

நந்தி மாமலை சிலம்ப

நந்திநிற் பரவுதல நாவலர்க் கரிதே .

Yapparunikala Virutti

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xviii, p. 306

⁴ “கட்டியங் காரனென னுங் கலியரை சழிந்தது” (சேவக 2828.)

“இருங்கலி யுலகமெல்லா மிருளகொள வெருகிநோக்கிப்

பொருங் கலியரைசர் தாண்போககிட மறதன்மே”. (குளா. அரசியல. 302.)

Kaliyaraśan. It is indeed unfortunate we have not been able again to determine definitely whether Achyuta or Kūrruva Nāyanār are identical, or, if different, who is the earlier.

In the connection Mr. Rangaswami Saraswatī mentions a reference by Buddhadatta to a Kaḷamba king Achyuta Vikrama ruling over the Chola country from Kavērippattinam.¹ This Buddhadatta was the contemporary of the great Buddhagosha who lived in the fifth century A.D., Mr. Saraswatī properly observes that the dynasty called the 'Kadambas' could not be the Kadambas because the latter ruled at that time only the north-west of the Deccan with their capital at Vaijayanti or Banavāsi and not the Chola country, and that the term must be derived from the word 'Kalabhra' since they were the ruling powers in the Tamil country. But Mr. Saraswatī calls the dynasty as 'Kalamba' and the king as Achyuta Vikrama only. In the original Pāli texts for the word 'Kalamba' a different reading is also given as 'Kaḷabbha' which more approximates to the word 'Kaḷabhra' and for the word 'Vikrama' there is also another reading as Vikrānta (the powerful).² The Sanskrit word 'Kaḷabhra' changes to 'Kaḷabbha' in Pāli. And the Pāli term 'Kaḷabbha' becomes 'Kalappār' and 'Kaḷappālar' in Tamil as அநதணர் = அநதணாளர், அருவர் = அருவாளர், வேள = வேளாளர், கம்மர் = கம்மாளர். So Achyuta-Kalappālan mentioned in the *Tamil Nāvalar Charitai* and *Yāpparungalam* is none other than the 'Kaḷabbha Achyuta, the Powerful' referred to by Buddhadatta. Probably he was the first king who subjugated the three Tamil kings after the Sangham Age and so marked the beginning of a new epoch in the later part of the fifth century A.D.

Examining this with the dates as given in the Vēlvikuḍi and other grants we are able to come to some satisfactory conclusion. From the Vēlvikuḍi plates and Ānamalai inscriptions it is evident that King Pāṇḍiyan Neḍuñcaḍaiyan must have come to the throne some time before A.D. 770. The Vēlvikuḍi grant is simply the regranting of the village of Vēlvikuḍi to Narchingan, a member of the Brahman family of Narkoṟan, to whom the self-same *grāma* was given as a gift by the Pāṇḍya King Paśśālai Mudukuḍumipperuvalūdi. It is said that after the original gift, the Kaḷabhras took possession of the land, and

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xv, April, 1919.

² I am indebted for this reference to Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Reader in History of the Madras University.

dispossessed, among others, this donee of his gift of the village. But when these Kalabhras had been driven away and the Pāṇḍya kings once again resumed their rule, the village was regranted. A list of the Pāṇḍya kings in succession is given and this throws much welcome light on the otherwise dark period of our history. The Pāṇḍya king who expelled the Kalabhras and retook the kingdom was Kaṭumkōṇ, and from Kaṭumkōṇ to Neḍuṇḍaiyan, there are six generations. Therefore the Kalabhra power must have terminated roughly about A.D. 600. It is just possible that the Kalabhra's sovereignty could have extended for more than two centuries, i.e. the later part of the fifth, sixth and the commencement of the seventh centuries.

NOTE

In this learned article Pandit Raghavaiyengar seeks, with his usual learning, to establish two theses (1) that the Kalabhras were Vellāla Kalappālar and not the Kalvar or Kalavar-Muttarayar, and (2) that Achyuta Kalappālar of literature is the Achyuta Vikrama or Vikrānta of Buddhadatta, and the Kalabhra king who subverted the Śāṅgam political order of Tamil India

In regard to (1) the learned Pundit's contention that the Muttaraiyar were Pallava viceroys friendly to Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the Kalabhras are counted enemies on the authority of the Korrangudi plates. The passage quoted in note 2, on p 2 states the facts that the Kalabhras along with other monarchs were awaiting the royal convenience for audience. This, friends might do as well as foes, as long as they recognized the superior position of Nandivarman. This can hardly be regarded decisive enough to prove the thesis. Kalvar or Kalavar at first may develop, in process of time, into Vels and Vellālas ultimately.

In regard to (2) Achyuta Kalappālar may prove to be Achyuta Vikrama or Vikrānta. He was ruler of Puhār and the Chola country, according to Buddhadatta, and ruler over the Kalabhras. He could hardly be regarded as the subvator of the Śāṅgam political order and resumer of the Brahmaḍēya of Vēlvikudi. The passage quoted from the Yāpparungala Virutti in note 2 on p 5 shews him as one liberal in making gifts to Brahmans and could hardly be equated with one described as *Kaliyaraśan* in Tamil. The learned Pundit takes him to have had the name Nandi as an alternative on the authority of the line of this quotation. The *line previous* describes him as King Achyuta, the lord of the hill, Nandi. This geographical position of Achyuta may turn out fatal to the learned Pundit's identification—*Editor*.

INTRODUCTION

THIS *Ājnāpatra* was first published in the Marathi Monthly *Vividhadyānavistāra* in 1875 and 1876. The original manuscript from which it was printed seems to have been lost. It was reprinted in the same Magazine in 1890 and 1891. It has been printed in a book form in 1923 and again in 1926. There are a few places in it which are quite unintelligible. They cannot be made intelligible without getting the original manuscript. It was issued on November 21, 1716, by Sambhaji of Kolhapur (1712-1760). Rāmachandrapant Amātya is responsible for the contents. The importance of the work is due to Rāmachandrapant's knowledge of Maratha state policy and the political events during the most important period of Maratha history from 1672 to 1717. He took part in the establishment of *Svarājya* under Sivāji, in its protection under Rājāram and Tārābai, and in the civil war between Tārābai and Shahu. His observations and personal experience of Maratha state policy are recorded in this *Ājnāpatra* or *Rājanīti*. It mainly relates to the methods and principles of Sivāji the Great. They were approved of as the best, and laid down as the standard to be followed. This *Ājnāpatra* consists of nine chapters relating to various aspects of state policy. It seems to have been written when Rājāram was alive (1700), but issued later in 1716 under Sambhaji's order.

ITS CONTENTS

1. Troubles of the Kingdom during the War of Independence.
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(continued).
3. The General Principles of State Policy and Organization.
4. Administrative and Ministerial Policy and Organization.
5. Commercial Policy.
6. Policy towards *Wāṭandars*.
7. Policy regarding Hereditary *Vrittis* and *Inams*.
8. Policy about Forts and their Construction and Organization.
9. Naval Policy.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

These headings to the various chapters are not in the original, but I have added them for an easy understanding of the contents of the various chapters.

Rāmachandra Nilkanṭha Amātya was born about 1650. His early life was spent with his father who was the Amātya of Sīvāji till 1672. After his father's death the work was done by Rāmachandrapant. Thus he knew Sīvāji's policy and methods quite intimately. During Rājāram's reign (1689-1700) he was one of the leading ministers of the state. He protected Mahārāṣṭra, fought against the Moguls while Rājāra was at Jinji in the south. He was given the title of *Hukumat Panha* or one who carried out the king's orders by Rājāram. After Rājāram's death he took a leading part in maintaining the vigour and courage of the people by exhorting them in such words 'now it is your duty to protect the kingdom. The whole reputation rests with you.' It was he who contributed to the success of the Marathas during Tārābai's regency. He was very honest, active, brave, industrious and well versed in political affairs.

According to G. S Sardesai he was in favour of Shahu's return and rule over Mahārāṣṭra. But Tārābai threatened him and later persuaded him to join her side. Then he worked for her against Shahu. But Tārābai did not trust him completely. She once imprisoned him owing to suspicion, but again released him and conducted the administration through him. Later Tārābai and her son Sīvāji were imprisoned, and Rājasbai and her son Sambhaji came to power in A.D. 1712 at Kolhapur and Rāmachandrapant helped them. He died in or about A.D. 1717. His *Rājantī* is one of the greatest literary legacies relating to the War of Maratha Independence and the principles of state policy which the great Sīvāji laid down. It is for the first time translated here into English.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR,

Hindu University, Benares.

The Ajnapatra or Royal Edict

Relating to the Principles of Maratha State Policy

CHAPTER I

THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

ROYAL ORDER

Hail Śrī, in the year forty-two of the Coronation Era, the *Samvatsar*¹ being Manmath by name, dated the fourth of the white half of Mārgaśīrsa, Thursday, His Majesty Śrīraja Śambhu² Chhatrapatī, an ornament to the race of Ksatriyas, ordered his minister Ramachandra Pandit Amātya, well-versed in all the affairs of the state, treasure of confidence, honoured by the king and adorned with the glory of the state, as follows :—

THE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM AT THE TIME OF SAMBHAJI'S ACCESSION

When His Majesty³ ascended the throne the desires of all were satisfied. The whole condition of the kingdom was thoroughly considered. Therein he found that, owing to the great calamity into which it had fallen, all the servants of the state, high and low, were distressed. Some did not know what to do about their maintenance and had become discouraged; some who had by their hereditary and loyal service acquired name and fame in the kingdom, had lost their courage, had abandoned completely their hereditary privileges and power, and had become dependent on others, some had taken to unjust ways of life, thinking that iniquitous (disloyal) methods were the only means of securing their subsistence; and the faith that this⁴ was their only kingdom, and that kingdom had only one aim had completely disappeared.

¹ November 21, 1716.

² Sambhaji, the second son of Rajaram ruled at Kolhapur from A.D. 1712–1760. He was born in A.D. 1697

³ Sambhaji.

⁴ Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāṣṭra.

SAMBHAJI'S POLICY

When such was the state of affairs, His Majesty pondered well over all this in his mind, and realizing that this kingdom¹ was exclusively a divine gift, and that it should increase and prosper was the great desire of God, and that, accordingly, He had willed that His Majesty should acquire the fame of augmenting the welfare of the kingdom, and remembering God with a firm and full faith, used, by the power of His Grace, his keen judgment in dealing with this disorganized state of affairs, conciliated those pious and hereditary state servants who were intelligent and well experienced, by adopting measures which would attract and hold them, and by gradually training their understanding made all of them devoted to and industrious in their work according to their abilities. Thus all the people got protection from the laws and regulations laid down by His Majesty, felt secure against small troubles as well as against great dangers such as those of foreign invasions, felt freed from anxiety about their wealth and fame acquired hereditarily, and, without bearing any other desire or design in mind, devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of their sovereign.

THE FAILURE OF AURANGZEB'S INVASION

This kingdom was invaded by a powerful foe in the person of Aurangzeb². He used all his valour and all his resources in wealth and other things for the destruction and conquest of this kingdom. All his attempts, however, proved fruitless by the favour of God. The result was that he got tired in his efforts, turned back and died. But having had to fight with Aurangzeb who held sovereignty over fifty-four states, who had incomparable resources in army, territory and treasury, nay, who was well known on this earth as the Emperor of Delhi resembling another Lord of the world, and to defeat whom called for the utmost efforts, and not canvassed with little trouble, the people in the whole kingdom in consequence suffered heavily on account of the severe fighting between the contending parties.

THE EFFECTS OF AURANGZEB'S INVASION

Many kinds of articles of merchandize could not be imported from various distant countries and islands. And many soldiers also,

¹ Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāstra.

² from A.D. 1682 to 1707.

who believed firmly that 'the servants whose lives are lost in the cause of their master attain that state which even the sages and yogis do not reach,' went to heaven whilst fighting in the cause of their master in accordance with the duties of Kṣātra.¹ Some having lost their armies got confounded in their valour and went over to the enemy. Some, seeing their master given up to vices like the enemy, usurped, with an idea of holding them independently, parts of territories and forts which had been made over to their possession by the king in his blindness caused by the darkness of his wicked understanding. In various places persons, rising like the crescent moon owing to the weakness of government, began to quarrel against one another. During these adverse times minor chiefs such as Shyāmalas² got their opportunity and became firmly rooted. The remaining parts of the country became desolate, and forts got exhausted of military provisions. Only the idea of the state remained.

SIVĀJI THE GREAT CREATED THE KINGDOM. HIS WORK

If one were to ponder over this situation, each one of the events was the cause of a sure calamity. God however favoured this kingdom and its ruler. Moreover His great desire was that this kingdom should increase and prosper like the new crescent moon day by day. Accordingly in this respectable and noble family His Majesty³ has been born. With what great daring and with what great valour the late, revered and honoured, great king,⁴ the founder of a new era,⁵ created this kingdom ! And we having been born in his family, such should be the disorganized condition of the kingdom ! This state of things was greatly undesirable. Hence with this purpose in view we thought over all the efforts made by the late, revered and honoured, great king,⁶ in the following way when the late, revered and esteemed great king⁷ the founder of a new era,⁸ the protector of the royal umbrella was living under the rule of the Yavanas,⁹ he

¹ The warrior class.

² Siddis of Janjira on the west coast of India in the Konkan. They were Abyssinians expert in naval warfare.

³ Sambhaji of Kolhapur mentioned above.

⁴ Sivāji (1630-1680)

⁵ Rājāśaka or the Coronation era starting from A.D. 1674, i.e. Sivāji's Coronation.

⁶ Sivāji (1630-1680).

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Muslim rulers of the Deccan, the Adilshahs of Bijapur.

received from them the small tracts (स्वास्त) of Poona and other parts¹ as an independent jagir, and from the age of fifteen² endeavoured (for his object) with (the resources of) the same small territory. Believing firmly the saying, 'The allotted span of life protects the vital parts; the allotted span of life gives food. This is the opinion of Gāṇḍivīn (Arjuna) whence is feebleness? Whence is fear?', and similarly the saying, 'the goddess of wealth goes to an industrious and lionlike brave man,' and not caring for his bodily health he performed personally superhuman deeds which were not done until then and which in future would not be even conceived in mind by any one.

SIVĀJĪ'S POLICY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Possessing the power of judging the character and ability of men he appointed quite new servants, and increasing their burden of work according to their abilities showed how to make them fit for works of great importance. Even though each one was irreconcilable with the other, he, by the influence of his own power, by showing kindness to all, by not allowing one to insult the other and inducing them all to work together, made them do their master's work. In the South, Adilshahī,³ Kutubshahī,⁴ and Nizamshahī⁵ were the brave, great and, in every way prosperous, states; similarly there were the Moguls⁶ who possessed provinces, every one of which could support one lakh of soldiers. Besides these, there were Shyamalas,⁷ Firangis,⁸ Ingīraj,⁹ Valandēj,¹⁰ chiefs of Rām-nagar,¹¹ Palegars,¹² the chiefs of Sonde, Bednore, Mysore and Trichinopoly and other places :

¹ Supa, Shirwal, etc. This jagir was formerly held under Nizamshahs of Ahmadnagar.

² A.D. 1645

³ Adilshahī of Bijapur (1489-1686)

⁴ Kutubshahī of Golkonda (1512-1687)

⁵ Nizamshahī of Ahmednagar (1489-1637).

⁶ Emperors of Delhi

⁷ Siddis of Janjira.

⁸ Portuguese of Goa

⁹ English of Surat and later Bombay.

¹⁰ Dutch.

¹¹ Kolī Rajas of the smaller state of Ramnagar in North Konkan.

¹² New rebel chiefs who levied contributions and made loot, keeping themselves secure in their woods and fastnesses.

similarly there were rebels in various parts, namely, Chandraraos,¹ Shirkes,² Savants,³ Dalvis,⁴ Nimbalkars⁵ above the Ghats, Ghatges,⁶ and other deshmukhs⁷ and Kāṭaks⁸ (काटक^१). Though they were all brave, ready to fight, and fully equipped, he, by the force of his own intellect and ability and without being afraid of any one subdued some by marching against them and fighting fierce battles with them. Upon some he made sudden attacks. Amongst some he fomented mutual quarrels. Between some he caused breaches of friendship. By entering the tents of some he fought with them. By personal venture he defeated some in single combats. With some he made alliances. Of his own accord he went to visit some. Some he forced to come and visit him. He imperilled (the lives of) some by creating mutual disunion. Others he conquered one after another by making other kinds of efforts without their knowledge and by erecting forcibly fortified places in their country. He defeated those who were possessed of sea-forts by erecting even new sea-forts. He entered inaccessible places from the sea. In this manner he subdued every enemy in the way in which he should be conquered, and created and acquired a Kingdom free from thorns (enemies) and extending from Salheri-Ahiwant⁹ to Chanji¹⁰ and the banks of the Kaveri, and he also acquired hundreds of hill-forts as well as sea-forts, several great places, forty thousand state cavalry and sixty to seventy thousand silledars,¹¹ two lakhs of foot soldiers, innumerable treasures, similarly the best jewellery and all kinds of articles. He regenerated the Marathas of the ninety-six noble families.¹² Having ascended the throne he

¹ Mores of Javalı whom Sivāji destroyed in A D 1655.

² Shirkes, formerly of Javalı, later of Singarpur in Konkan in the south.

³ Savants of Savantawadi were in charge of Southern Konkan

⁴ Dalvis of Konkan

⁵ Nimbalkars of Phaltan near Baramati

⁶ Ghatges were old nobles on the west country.

⁷ Officers of the chief sub-divisions of a territory

⁸ Having regard to what follows this must be regarded as the Kādava, the Dravida country dependent on Kānchi *Ed*

⁹ Forts in the North Konkan

¹⁰ The fortress of Jinji near Madras

¹¹ Horse-soldiers who provide their own horses and equipment, as against Bargirs who are supplied these by the state.

¹² The traditionally recognized number of the old noble families of the Marathas—the warrior caste.

held the royal umbrella and called himself *Chhatrapati*.¹ He rescued the *Dharma*, established Gods and Brāhmanas in their due places and maintained the six-fold duties of sacrifice, officiating at sacrifice and others (study and teaching, giving and receiving gifts) according to the division of the (four) *varnas* (castes). He destroyed the existence of thieves and other criminals in the Kingdom. He created a new type of administration for his territories, forts and armies, and conducted the government without hindrance and brought it under one system of co-ordination and control. He created wholly a new order of things. He forced Aurangzeb to immerse in a sea of agony and sorrow and acquired for himself a world-wide well-acknowledged fame. That is this kingdom.

CHAPTER II

THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—(continued)

THE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM DURING RĀJĀRAM'S TIME

After the death of the revered and noble great king² the founder of a new era, his son³ the late revered and noble great king made uncommon efforts and performed feats of daring. When Aurangzeb invaded the country, he killed in battle several of his chief soldiers, made some of them bereft of pride and turned them back in retreat; made some submit and released the princes (शाहाजादे ?) and others. After that, on account of the force of his merits, the chief enemy⁴ acted very obstinately, did not care to consider what was a proper or improper cause, and making strenuous efforts personally, got humiliated at various places and thus ended his career.⁵ But owing to the warfare the kingdom had fallen into a bad state. All the country and forts had been captured. The name alone of the kingdom had remained and that also was not confined to any limits. The people of the kingdom, the mainstay of the life of the state, having fallen into such adverse times, had suffered heavily under the pressure of several small troubles. It was the very kingdom, the administration of which was such that it had become an example and support in the policy of the

¹ The protector with the royal umbrella—an emblem of sovereignty.

² Sivaji.

³ Rājāram.

⁴ Aurangzeb.

⁵ A. D. 1707.

Government of their own countries to other rulers and all feudatory Governors, and also such that all should learn the policy, the purpose and the laws of state from it. In these spheres of authority which should not be controlled even in the slightest degree by others than the sovereign power, there had developed more and more control other than that of the (central) political authority. Nay, on account of this, even the control of the political authority over them had disappeared. Some parts had become unprotected.

RĀJĀRAM'S WORK AND POLICY

Therefore thinking that if the state were first well-organized, other objects would become easily successful, he conciliated the chief ministers, sardars (nobles) and other servants, high and low, of the kingdom by bestowing upon them great honour in a proper way. Having found several new servants able and experienced in work he raised them to high positions. Attracting the hearts of all, and not allowing them to hate one another, he encouraged them to work for the state properly and in due rank. He kept within the limits of law those who were unrestrained and hostile by punishing them justly, thereby making them friendly and well-disposed. He reduced those to dust who were excessively self-willed and mischievous and who if neglected would become of an iniquitous (disloyal) disposition of mind. By assuring protection to all the people he freed them from troubles. The country was made peaceful and tranquil.

HUJURĀT

The chief body of royal troops (हुजुरात) which was the main support in the protection of the armed forces of the country and of the forts, had become totally disorganized, and its name alone remained. It was reorganized and well-equipped by the appointment of very brave, trustworthy and obedient persons as horse-soldiers (लश्कर), foot soldiers (हशम), matchlock firers (बंदुकी), archers (तिरंदास) and others, and also by providing military necessities and equipments.

FORTS

Having started the building anew of all unfinished forts and ramparts, and provisioning them with corn, ammunition, arrows,

grenades, guns and other necessities he fully equipped all the territories and forts.

CAVALRY AND INFANTRY

He settled properly the discipline of the cavalry (पगल) and infantry (हशम) of the kingdom which had fallen into disorder and strengthened the cavalry by enlisting strong Arabi, Ilākhi (Irākī), Tāji (Arabi¹) and Kachchhi horses, good accoutrements and men famed for efficiency in shooting. He gathered together the infantry by collecting Māvales,² Adāvas,³ Itakarts,⁴ Pattaits,⁵ Bankaits,⁶ and also, Bandukis,⁷ Tursandajs,⁸ Kānaḍes,⁹ Torsāli,¹⁰ and Jāngade,¹¹ Bandukis, and Tirandajs.¹²

ARTILLERY

He made fit and ready the moving artillery (तोफखाना) by collecting Rāmchāngyas,¹³ Durāvyas,¹⁴ Philnāls,¹⁵ Sutarnāls¹⁶ and also guns (भाङ्गे) placed on big carts and artillery men (करोळ). The kingdom was made prosperous and kept well protected.

SIDDIS

Further with a view to bring under his control this Kingdom by his valour he thought of subduing first the adjoining enemy who was like a disease in the stomach. The Shyāmalas (Siddis) were truly the cause of harm to the state. They were the means of fulfilling the

¹ This must be Tājka (Central Asian.) *Ed*

² Footsoldiers from Maval territory.

³ Those armed with inferior and irregular weapons, light armed men.

⁴ Those footsoldiers who used a Barchi or spear, spearmen

⁵ Those footsoldiers who use Patta, and which is a long and straight rapier swordsmen.

⁶ Guards of the king's tents, camp-guards

⁷ Matchlock-firers.

⁸ तुरसंदाज or musketeers.

⁹ Footsoldiers from Karnāṭaka.

¹⁰ तोरमाळो.

¹¹ ? जांगडे.

¹² Archers.

¹³ Small cannons.

¹⁴ Long-range guns.

¹⁵ Guns carried on elephants

¹⁶ Guns carried on camels,

evil designs of the lord of the Yavanas.¹ On account of the Shyāmalas the successes of the chief enemy were at first great, nay during the adverse times the Shyāmalas conquered several territories and forts. Even the chief place Raigad¹ which was the seat of the throne was captured by them. Having caused troubles to Brahmanas and all other people they forcibly converted them. To neglect an enemy of such a type, to put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day, would be very improper, and then the enemy would become unconquerable to His Majesty and would be provoked to attack being backed by the Tāmras.² At first the late revered great king,³ the ornament of the state, checked the Shyāmalas. On that occasion the Shyāmalas were supported by the Tamras⁴ and therefore the Shyāmalas remained as a power. Otherwise what was there to make the Shyāmalas exist in spite of his efforts. A place or country when invaded by others continues to exist with outside help. Therefore at first that help should be cut off. Their efforts should be made against (to attack) it directly. This is the (proper) policy. For this purpose the jagir territory of the Shyāmalas, namely, Nandurbar⁵ and other places, was completely destroyed. And having created enmity between them and the Tāmras (Moguls) he⁶ cut off their only possible help and then attacked them. With a naval force by sea and an army by land, the Shyāmalas were invaded on all sides, and without allowing any respite their places were captured, and by conquering with a determination Rajapurī and other old habitations, Shyāmalas were completely effaced.⁷

OTHER FOES AND REBELS

Immediately after this the Sāvants⁸ and others who had become a standing danger to the kingdom were destroyed. The remaining watandars and others who had become powerful by building independent fortified places became frightened, abandoned their places and came and submitted themselves; and he kept them under control as before by his strong rule. Having punished Mysorean and other

¹ Raigad was captured in A.D. 1690 by the Moguls with the help of Siddis.

² Moguls

³ Sivājī.

⁴ Moguls.

⁵ Rājāram's forces attacked it in A.D. 1698.

⁶ Sivājī or Rājāram.

⁷ In 1661, 1670, 1674, if during Rājāram's time it would be in A.D. 1698-99?

⁸ In 1662, if in Rājāram's time it would be in 1698-99.

palegars he held them down under a system of annual tribute. Thus the kingdom became free from thorns.

RAJARAM'S AIM AND STRUGGLE

After achieving so much success by favour of God he divulged his inmost object of conquering the country occupied by the Yāvanas of destroying the Yāvana confederacy and of beating down the Yāvana predominance which had taken root in the East, West and South by sending large armies. The lost kingdom from (the forts of) Salheri (and) Ahivant up to Chanji (and) Kaveri banks was fully reoccupied. His Majesty personally invaded the great old places of Bijapur, Bhāgānagar (Bhāgnagar or Haidarabad) and others, defeated the generals and the armies of the Yāvanas and brought under his control those places along with the territories and forts. Immediately after this he marched against Aurangabad and Burhanpur which were the headquarters of the army of the Lord of the Yāvanas. A vast army entered the field against him.¹ Fierce battles took place, Yāvanas abandoning the hope of life showed in desperation enormous courage. However God's great desire was that their destruction should take place and His Majesty's glory of success should increase in strength. Accordingly the whole of the Yāvana's army being destroyed like locusts by the fire of His Majesty's valour was (completely) defeated. Many soldiers died, many retreated, and others were captured. All the goods and wealth attached to horses, elephants and others fell into his hands. All the places in that part such as Aurangabad, Burhanpur and others were captured and were then decorated by planting His Majesty's flags of victory. (Thus) His Majesty's kingdom stretching from Narmada to Rameshwar became free from thorns.²

HIS FURTHER RESOLVE

This object just as it was conceived in the mind of His Majesty was carried out on account of God's extreme kindness and your³ efforts. His Majesty who was well versed in the affairs of the

¹ The chronology of these events and their occurrence are not established and are doubtful. The period referred to must be the years A.D. 1698-1700.

² The account seems to refer to Rājāram's campaigns and successes in Khandesh, Berar, Baglana and Gangathadi against the Moguls in A.D. 1698-1700.

³ Rāmachandrapant Amatya.

Hindu kingdom and who was the creator of the growth and prosperity of the state became successful with the personal efforts of you people. You servants of the state accomplished your tasks. But if one were to remain contented only with the work done, or with the praiseworthiness of the actions performed, further work would suffer. The chief enemy being afraid of our power has got perturbed. (If we remain silent) he, after recovering his strength, would collect his army and strengthen his territories and forts, and by subduing all the feudatories of these provinces by force (or) by policy would gather together the armies of all countries, give full protection to his own country and march on to the banks of the Narmada. Therefore it would become necessary for us to fight. The whole of Hindustan would remain undisturbed, and the new country conquered by His Majesty would become a theatre of war. This is not a policy of foresight.

HIS AIM IN INVADING NORTHERN INDIA

The enemy has got frightened through of us dread which has fallen on him. All the feudatories have adopted a wavering attitude. Under these circumstances His Majesty¹ firmly determined that, not allowing respite to the enemy, he should go and defeat him with his army, and therefore made to gather together the Rajputs of all provinces. On an auspicious occasion he crossed the Narmada.² While, by favour of God, within a short time he will defeat the chief enemy, subdue all the territories and forts about Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Dacca, Bengal, Tattha and maritime and other places, and go to Benares and establish the idol of Kaśi Viśveśvara. Till then the revered Queen Mother,³ the one celebrated and holy amongst all the holies will have to stay in the southern provinces for the protection of the south. With her has been kept the young prince⁴ of long life, dearer than life itself, and an ornament to the kingdom. You have been kept to serve both of them.

¹ Rājāram. He could not carry out his objects. He died in March, A.D. 1700.

² This may refer to the year A.D. 1699 or 1700.

³ Rājasbai, the wife of Rājāram.

⁴ Sambhaji, Rājasbai's son, born in A.D. 1697, established the State of Kolhapur.

THE NEED OF ENUNCIATING PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY

So His Majesty¹ does not recognize any God, in body, speech and thought, other than the feet of his revered mother. This kingdom,² this acquisition of fame, and the future success, are all due to her favour and blessings. There is no other desire in the mind of His Majesty than to obey her wishes and to please her mind. You³ must have already known this incomparable devotion of His Majesty.⁴ Accordingly you should consider well in mind all this purpose, and obeying her wishes should act in such a way that the revered Queen Mother⁵ should remain pleased with His Majesty⁶ day by day. You are an able and experienced servant. When the late revered and esteemed Majesty⁷ had gone to Karnāṭaka,⁸ you increased the prosperity of the kingdom, the administration of which was entrusted to you; you understand political affairs, policy and laws well. However in order that princes of long life, ornaments to the kingdom, should be well-versed in political affairs and that other governors and criminal officers in various parts of the country should protect the state by conducting themselves according to principles of good government, His Majesty⁹ has therefore prepared a treatise on the principles of state policy in the form of this Royal Edict¹⁰ in accordance with the *Śāstras*. Remembering it fully in mind you should see that princes of long life are educated according to its principles. Similarly, the kingdom should be protected by making all the people perform their duties in consonance with it and according to the functions allotted to them.

CHAPTER III

THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

THE ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP

The whole world is created by God. God is the ruler of all. He first created kings in this world. Amongst the people every

¹ Sambhaji.² Svarajya or only the Kolhapur State?³ Rāmachandrapant Amatya.⁴ Sambhaji.⁵ Rājasbai.⁶ Sambhaji.⁷ Rājāram.⁸ To Jinji. Rāmachandra was in charge of the Maratha kingdom and fought for it against Aurangzeb.⁹ Sambhaji.¹⁰ Sambhaji was nineteen years of age when he issued the Royal Edict (1716). He began to rule at Kolhapur in A.D. 1712.

individual is one but the temperaments of many differ. Therefore if they have no protector who would make for them one common law they would quarrel and fight with one another and be destroyed. This should not happen. All the people should be free from trouble and should follow the path of *Dharma*. Out of compassion for the people God in his full favour has granted us this kingdom.

PRIVATE FUNCTIONS OF THE KING

Realizing in mind fully the fear that, if this command of God is disobeyed God's anger will fall on him, a ruler without ascending the throne but keeping himself vigilant and restrained should be ready all the time to look after the welfare of the people. Similarly, believing firmly that his gains and losses are in the hands of God and that they cannot be altered by any one, and supplicating God for protection all the time, not becoming dependent on others internally and not disregarding the service of his servants, he should act with unswerving justice by attracting the minds of servants to himself according to rank and by adopting proper methods. He should follow that *Dharma* which is traditionally the best and which his ancestors had followed, and should do that by which fame is acquired. He should have great fear of bad reputation in all undertakings. Kings who lived in the past succeeded in this world and acquired the next with the help of *Dharma*. Believing with a firm confidence that the practice of *Dharma*, the worship of God, the acquisition of the favour of saintly persons, the attainment of the welfare of all, and the prosperity of the dynasty of the kingdom should be uninterrupted and regulated, he should settle grants according to their special religious merit on temples of Gods, places of pilgrimage, holy centres of religion, hermitages of saints and places of *samādhi*,¹ so that the daily ablution of water, worship, offerings, annual pilgrimages (and) great festivals may be well performed; and he should continue them uninterruptedly by making frequent kindly inquiries. Showing great devotion to Brahmanas, *Vaidikas*,² those versed in *Sastras*, those free from desire and worldly ties, those subsisting on alms but without begging, those living in forests, those practising austerity and holy men, and pro-

¹ Places where the remains of holy men lie enshrined. *Ed*

² Followers of the path of the Veda—the ritual practices and other prescribed acts of daily life. *Ed*,

viding for their maintenance being carried to wherever they are, and satisfying them in all ways, he should acquire blessings for the increase of his welfare. He should not put faith, however, in those persons who assume disguises, fakirs, yogis, jagams and others who practise merely sorcery and wander about, and without trusting them, he should through his servants send them away after giving them a few alms. Heretic opinions which are against *Dharma* should in no way be allowed to prevail. If anywhere any heresy were to rise then he should by (making) personal inquiry punish it duly so that no one would follow that wicked path. He should also destroy it, not associating himself with those practising austerities and those of irritable temperament, and inquiring about them from a distance he should see that they live contented and give blessings. Holding universal compassion towards the blind, the crippled, the diseased, the helpless and those without any means of subsistence, he should arrange for their means of livelihood so long as they live.

PERSONAL PROTECTION AND PRIVATE SERVANTS

Except in case of mortal fight kings should always be very careful at least about their personal protection. After careful inquiry those persons who are very trustworthy, hereditarily in service, honest and not greedy should be appointed in kitchens, places of water and fruits, dressing-rooms and other important royal household departments (महल), as also in other public royal establishments (कारखाने). By taking work from those according to the functions allotted to them and by treating all with equal regard by virtue of his authority, he should keep them contented and look after them so that none of them would feel any want about their maintenance. Everything should be done which would keep them ready and pleased in his service. If any doubt is felt at some time or other about their conduct, an immediate inquiry should be made in accordance with justice. Whatever makes them engage in work undoubtedly with an open mind should be done. If a doubt against a servant cannot be removed he should be positively dismissed (from that work) and given other work. If he deserves punishment then he should be punished. This matter should not be neglected. Similarly those servants who are to be kept near himself should be judged as to whether they are very trustworthy and intelligent, act after knowing their master's

purpose, understand the signs of his internal thoughts, and are brave, of agreeable appearance, with auspicious marks and are not zealous, cruel, self-willed and of wicked disposition; and then they should be employed. They should be treated cordially and with kind regard, and whatever makes them live loyally and devotedly without caring for any other master but himself, should be done. They should be paid well so that they should not find it necessary to look to others for their maintenance. They should be made to observe a certain amount of discipline so that they do not get accustomed to going to other's houses without permission, to speaking out secrets, and similarly to committing any wrong against others out of any sudden impulse whilst they are near their master, to insulting high officials and to carrying tales about any one. From amongst them every one should be promoted and encouraged according to the measure or importance of his work.

PERSONAL ROUTINE AND DISCIPLINE

He should fix his times for meals and water-drinking and should not change them. Intoxicating drugs should never be taken, and those people who remain near him should not be allowed to taste them. When he is without arms he should not keep looking down all the time. He should acquire knowledge and skill in all kinds of arms and should always increase it by practice. Exercise in elephant and horse-riding should never be neglected. All the methods of making new arrows, bows, matchlocks and other arms, of filling rockets, of casting cannon, of laying mines and mounting batteries, and similarly, all the arts of making strong saddles, harness, armour, and other equipment should be well known. In this way after appreciating the merit of every one according to the efforts made by him, he should be duly rewarded. Otherwise if he be given less, the fault of want of appreciation would fall to his credit; and if he be given more, carelessness would be attributed to him; but when he knows the real nature of work, both these faults would not occur. For this purpose the above is written. Skill in all arts and crafts should be necessarily acquired. But those industries which require exertion should not be personally worked at. For, while one is engaged in these occupations, or if any bodily disease is caused by them, state affairs would get neglected,

ENTERTAINMENTS

The chief function of the king is the effective supervision of state affairs. There should be no break in this. Except on the occasion of great festivals, no dancing and music of professionals, army-musicians (धाढी)¹ and others (निजग्रहो?) should be performed regularly in the royal court. During great festivals dancing, music and other entertainments should not be held at the place where the king sits but amongst the people who are assembled outside. The king should not himself hear or see it. For as long as his mind does not get attached to them, it is well. Once it gets attached to any of these, it cannot be withdrawn from the object of attachment even if desired. Then the bad habit holds him and the affairs of the state get neglected. Nay, owing to its influence some more evils also occur. For this reason this tendency should not be allowed to grow.

COURT POETS

Poets spread fame. Their verses and good sayings last eternally because of their poetic merit. For this purpose after seeing that, they are deserving, versed in Śāstras, honest and possessing no vice, they should be gathered (at the court) according to his means, and after maintaining them properly and very respectfully it should be seen that they live contented and devoted to their work. But (hearing) only self-praise is a very great fault. For this purpose, one should not get wholly absorbed in their company by neglecting state affairs.

BARDS

Similarly bards were maintained by former kings in royal courts and during royal tour. For this purpose a few persons gifted as bards should be gathered after personally finding their worth. But these people should not be invited at the time of conducting state affairs. For if there were present persons (other than the ministers) who have no concern with the administration, the work of administration would suffer because ministers who have to speak openly about state affairs and act secretly would feel constrained in their consultations. For this purpose other people should not be allowed to take part in deliberations of state.

¹ A class of Muhamradan singers who may be retainers of kings or great men and precede on march and chant praise.

JESTING

Kings should not at all indulge in the habit of making jokes. Friends are after all servants. If jesting be done with them, there would remain no limit to it. Consequently it would sometimes happen that he passes the limits of propriety and causes the lowering of his own dignity. Sometimes it would result in their death by provoking his anger. Therefore there should be no tendency towards jesting and he should not feel false delight in his mind about his own sagacity (in this matter).

CONSULTATION

He should examine in his own mind, the merits and demerits of the work which is to be done. Those who are intelligent in the work to be done should be asked their opinion about it. Whatever leads to the success of the work undertaken should be done by accepting the best possible advice given. If he insists on his own plan, his servants would not at all speak out the merits and defects of the work proposed. Hence the intelligence and initiative of servants does not get full scope for development, but rather they get atrophied and the work gets spoilt. Similarly if he regards the glory which he has achieved as satisfactory, then he does not feel inclined for further exertion. As a result the enemy would find the occasion for an invasion and the kingdom would suffer. This should not be allowed to happen. While protecting what is already acquired, new achievements should always be attempted, and this should continuously remain the aim of the king.

FINANCIAL POLICY

After considering the income and expenditure, whatever helps the growth of treasury in the kingdom should be done. Finance is the life of the state. In times of need if there is money all the perils are averted. Therefore with this aim in view the state treasury should be filled. It should be well looked after. Servants should be paid well and without any reluctance. If any special work is done by them or if they are burdened with a family they should be given something (in addition) by way of gifts. But any more salary than what is attached to an office should not be paid for any special work done in the same office. The reason is that if any one's salary is increased, other servants of the same rank ask for an additional salary, and if not paid

they get discontented. If any one's salary is increased owing to his influence, the salaries of all others who are of the same rank will have to be increased because they are all similar to one another. Then the whole organization will break down. This would not be a proper thing. Therefore there should not at all be any alteration in the remuneration attached to any work. If able men do any meritorious work they should be promoted to a higher rank and thus encouraged. This makes men hopeful. If rewards are given for any special work, others cannot put obstacles in the way. Secondly, when a reward is given to one servant, other servants have no grounds to ask for rewards as they have for getting discontented when any one's salary is increased. And holding the hope that the master gives rewards according to work done, other servants without caring for their lives strive personally (very hard) for their master's work. For this reason salary should be paid according to rules, and rewards should be given according to special work done. But where salary is fixed, no change should at all be made.

MILITARY POLICY

ROYAL TROOPS

Royal troops are (हजुरात) the means of showing one's own bravery and valour and are the prime support in the protection of the army, territory and forts. Those kings and generals who are already dead and those who are living at present first created a body of royal troops, and by achieving gradual success with its strength collected large forces and acquired territory and treasury, and with its fame kept all of them obedient and in order. Those who do not possess a strong body of royal troops are dependent on others. They cannot take up any work by themselves. For that reason they have to become dependent on servants, and whatever they say has to be quietly borne. If not, the servants and sardars would not sincerely perform the work undertaken and therefore the work is ruined. Under these circumstances how can the kingdom grow? Therefore he who is himself industrious and brave and who entertains the idea of always gaining new acquisitions should first create a body of royal troops. He should keep a five-fold force of cavalry,¹ foot-soldiers² and

¹ कष्कर.

² हशम.

light armed men,¹ musketeers,² archers,³ and artillery men.⁴ Those persons should be employed in the body of royal troops who are very brave, powerful, select, thoroughly obedient, and the very mention of whose name will extort admiration in the army and the country, and who on occasion will inspire terror. Those who are capricious, arrogant, unrestrained, childish, vicious, defaming, vilifying and have acted treacherously towards their previous master should not at all be kept in the body of royal troops. For on the strength and assurance of the royal army one can remain free from anxiety about all matters. At times life has to be hazarded. Other soldiers have to be kept, within bounds. If this method of organization is kept up all these things are easily attainable, otherwise not. If there is any inefficiency, punishment has to be inflicted, consequently other fellow-soldiers may get pained, and, if they rise in arms, men engaged in other useful work will have to be sent against them, and they will get wounded, nay, they may even rise against the king. Therefore men of such bad character should not at all be engaged in the body of royal troops. It is not that men of good character are easily available at any time. Therefore while touring round in the country, in the army and in the small and big forts, the king should have an eye for proper men, and associating with him, in addition to his ministers, the best men wherever available, showing kindness to them and finding their worth, he should employ them in his body of royal troops. This group of men should be trusted day and night with the work of guards at the gates of the royal residence and court, and thus should their presence and work be noted and examined from day to day. If any one of them were to remain absent even once, then he should be warned. After that if he again commits the same mistake, he should be scolded and asked to become careful. In spite of all this if he does not keep watch and ward according to the terms of his appointment, then he should be positively removed. If he commits any wrong deserving of punishment, he should be immediately punished. There should be no weakness shown out of any consideration. If discipline is at all absent in the king's own troops, then how can it be expected to prevail outside. Therefore there should not at all be any indiscipline in his own troops. Whatever

¹ आडाव.² बंदूकी.³ तिरंदाजी.⁴ करोल.

salary is fixed for them must be given without fail. The payment of their salaries should not be entrusted to others, but should be done under his own supervision through a devoted *sabnis* (सबनोस)¹ who is not influenced by any consideration. By showing kindness and by appreciative treatment these men should be completely brought under his own loving influence. Of all the other forces and departments, the body of royal troops should be kept contented and efficient. And if they are seduced from allegiance by any one, it should be seen to that they do not get any protection elsewhere. If they are at all seduced, they should be made to realize that punishment would be strictly meted out to them. It should, however, be provided that they do not join in any defection. A king should keep himself strong by equipping himself well with swords (तरवार), daggers (कठारा), scimitars (जमदाडा), straight rapiers (पट्ट), spears (भाले), daggers (बाक), poniards (बिचवे), spears with a string (सैल्य), bombs (टाकण्या), bows and arrows (तिरकमाना), matchlocks (बंदुको) and other weapons, coats of mail (बखतरे), head-armour (घुंग्या), helmets (टोप), cloth-covers (दुपट्टे)?, body-armours (चलखते), armours for horses and elephants (पाखरा), helmets (ताज), grenades (हुके), ammunition (दारगोळी), rockets (बाण) and other provisions. If he is always possessed of the above-mentioned troops of men and munitions and is personally industrious, then what deficiency in equipment is possible? When the nobles and troops of the kingdom obey orders, then the king feels enthusiasm for every sort of work. Being freed from anxiety about self-protection the mind of the king works in solving other problems. Whatever he does at any time results in a favourable way. Without being influenced by others the administration goes on uninterrupted. The fame of the king's valour and efforts increases. All the enemies and others feeling awe of him remain where they are. Therefore without neglecting the efficient maintenance of the body of royal troops, and considering that it is the most important of all the aspects of state administration and without admitting *Siladars*² into the body of royal troops he should organize it as mentioned above.

¹ A *sabnis* was in charge of accounts in general and the muster roll in particular.

² A horse soldier who equips himself with his own horse.

KING AND HIS SERVANTS, THEIR QUALITIES AND RELATIONS

It has been said, 'one should give up a lord who is very ferocious ; but one who is miserly sooner than one who is very ferocious ; one who is incapable of appreciation sooner than one who is miserly ; and one who is ungrateful sooner than one who is incapable of appreciation.' Therefore there should never be in a king the above-mentioned disposition nor the following qualities, namely, a feeling of disgust with a large gathering of men and a want of desire to converse with men. These qualities do not lead to a harmony of mind between servants and master, and the servants feeling restrained are not wholly won over. Kings also not understanding the good and bad qualities of persons are not able to gather a group of good men. Therefore after abandoning these qualities completely, whatever will help in the collection of such men should be done positively. All the persons engaged in service should be respected according to their rank, persons of higher rank should not be treated on the same level with the persons of lower rank ; and no one should be allowed to insult another keeping in view his own welfare. Speaking highly of ordinary men as well as able and industrious men, showing kind regard to them, granting their requests, and emphasizing their importance, he should do what leads to his welfare by using all means. If any new servant is to be engaged full inquiry should be made about his family, place of residence, relations and first service, and if he is not found fraudulent, profligate or a spy on behalf of others, murderous, drunkard, dissolute, very old, incapable of any work, he should be kept when found very brave. But no servant should be engaged without taking a surety for him. If he runs away after committing robbery, murder and other lawful acts, then the surety must be held responsible for the offender's conduct. This matter should not be neglected. Then the servant remains attentive (to his work) and does not go out of control, and the allotted work is done rightly.

KING'S BEHAVIOUR

Kings should be moderate in speech. Unless there is work they should not keep on talking with anybody and anything whatever. If they talk in such a manner, the servants get unduly intimate and unrestrained. After necessarily giving encouragement to persons in a

wise manner, those with whom discussions are to be made about what is to be done and not to be done, and about the good or the bad side of the situation which has arisen, should be made to speak in political matters. Kings should listen to them attentively. If what they say appeals to their own judgment, then it should be accepted, being considered to be the best. If those people have not been able to deliberate or advise well, then without treating them with indifference and by stating their own views openly and without showing any impatience, kings should discuss fully the merits and demerits of the work to be undertaken. People should be made to realize those merits and demerits. Other daily work which is to be entrusted to ordinary servants should generally be given by signs. But they should not always continue using signs, such as gestures of eyes, hands, feet and other members, or restlessness of body. They should practice steadiness of seat, like a post or a mountain. Kings should not utter the faults of any servant high or low. If any faults are found, they should not be communicated to others. After keeping them in mind means should be employed to remedy them. The servant should be under the impression that whatever fault he has committed is not known to the master. This impression keeps the servants obedient, nay, they are even careful to remedy their faults. Then it becomes easy to correct their faults.

PRINCE'S EDUCATION

Even kings do not give up vices and adopt virtues once for all. For this purpose, a few good persons should be kept near the princes to correct or to guide them. They should always be made to live in their company. They should be made to do strictly the study of *Sastras*, and of writing without any idleness on their part. Similarly, royal teachers, such as professional wrestlers and other experts (जैठो) who are well-versed in the arts and knowledge of spear-throwing (भेजणे?), sword-playing (परजणे?), wrestling (कुस्तोघेणें) and athletic exercises (तालोमकरणे) should be engaged. Under their instructions each of those arts should be taught. Through false kindness studies should not be allowed to be neglected. The reason is that the ideal Hindu king is God himself who is the teacher of the whole world and is the distributor of weal and woe to all. If the

worldly king is endowed with virtues, then the welfare of the greatest number is possible ; if he is possessed of vices, the misery of the most is the result. Therefore 'the king is the maker of the age'. Consequently kings should possess many virtues. Even though they have studied all sciences, they have become endowed with all virtues, they have acquired a kingdom by the favour of God, and they are praised by all people, still they should not feel satisfied with this. They should always give thought to their own merits and defects. Nay, even one or two good men who are honest, influential, thoughtful and of sharp understanding should always be kept near by way of constant company. They should be definitely ordered that they should always give warning about the faults committed or things not done by him. By respecting them like elderly persons they should be attentively listened to. By not resenting their timely advice they should be treated with respect, and their words of encouragement should be looked upon as a source of gratification. As a consequence those persons feeling easiness of mind will warn him about the faults committed by him which he must abandon. Consequently, as the root of a tree makes the tree grow strong in a well-watered place, so the king, who is the root of the kingdom and is endowed with virtues, causes the growth of the kingdom

QUALITY OF TOLERANCE IN A KING

Kings should be very tolerant, for the reason that the king is the lord of a large number of people and all are generally not of the same character. Every one has some faults or others, nay, every one from the poor upwards to the highest officers get angry at times. In anger they carry on indecent wordy discussions. At that time keeping himself tranquil and keeping a smiling face in order to please them he should well consider the offence committed by them. Proper punishment should be awarded. As a consequence later on wise men feel ashamed of their behaviour and, becoming grateful to the master, do not commit again the same faults. So without toleration the way of making servants give up their faults is not possible.

(To be continued)

Reviews

'THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA' VOLUME III— TURKS AND AFGHANS

EDITED BY

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THIS volume which precedes the publication of the second of the series, purports to deal with the history of India under early Muhammadan rule from the time of the Arab occupation of Sind down to the establishment of the Mughal power under Babar at Delhi. The title 'Turks and Afghans' given to the book is perhaps a more accurate determinant of its scope, excluding as it does from its purview a full account of the series of Hindu kingdoms, Rajput and other, which flourished unbroken both in Hindustan and in the Deccan and the South till late in the twelfth century, and which contrived to survive the shock of the Muslim impact in the remoter parts of Hindustan like Rajputana and Central India and in South India, till a much later date than that at which the book ends. Both the Arab occupation of the Lower Indus Valley, and the planting of Ghaznavide rule in the Punjab by Sultan Mahmud are rightly regarded by the Editor who has been personally responsible for the greater portion of the work—taking in as he has done only a few noted scholars to collaborate with him, like Sir John Marshall for the chapter on the architecture of the period, Sir Denison Ross for the history of Gujarat and Khandesh, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar for the Hindu states of Southern India, Mr. G. E. Harvey and Dom M. de Zilva Wickrama-singhe for the histories of Burma and Ceylon respectively—as merely preparatory to the Muslim conquest of the land, which did not really reach the stage of definite consolidation till the first half of the fourteenth century. Sir Wolseley Haig has attained to reputation as a Persian scholar having edited a portion of Khafi Khan's famous history in the

Bibliotheca Indica Series and translated the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* in succession to Major J. S. King. He has shown great capacity in these works and others of his, for accuracy of statement and sobriety in treatment. Being a Persian scholar he has relied too much (almost exclusively ?) on Persian sources of information contained in annalists who took but very slight notice of the real life of the people of the land and of their institutions and culture. Many of the Muslim historians cannot claim to rank above annalists and they content themselves for the greater part with a dry narration of events, 'conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations.' A good use has, however, been made of the available historical material, both original sources and modern works. The Hindu states have not received adequate treatment at all. Even the independent Hindu states of South India which formed a bulwark, for nearly three centuries, against foreign domination and Islamic fanaticism, and maintained Hindu cultural, religious and political independence, receive but scant justice. The learned author of the chapter devoted to them has to compress the varied dynastic revolutions, the consequent shiftings of frontiers and the cultural and architectural life of the period in an all-too-brief compass. The effects of the impact of a foreign polity based on Quranic precepts, on the life of the people, of the interaction between Hinduism and Islam and of the deep-rooted religious movements which produced Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya and saved Hinduism from utter demoralization have not been noted at all. Nor does Sir Wolseley concern himself, except in isolated notes scattered about the various chapters, with the administrative system—and the political theory on which it was based—of the early Muhammadan rulers of Delhi¹

With these limitations, the work of the Editor may be regarded as quite thorough, scholarly and marked by penetrative observation. The course of narrative has however in various places been diverted from region to region in rather sudden breaks and the proportion of detail has not been preserved with any uniformity in the various chapters. We are warned in the beginning, and rightly too, against believing that the rhapsodies of Muslim historians

¹ Prof. M. Habib of Aligarh has made a commendable beginning in the study of this subject, based on an analysis of the Persian texts surviving.

in their accounts of conquests, war and victories means that the early Muslim occupation of India was one prolonged holy war for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam; and sufficient proof is adduced that this could not have been the case. Hindu legends came to be quickly used in Muslim coinage; Hindu rulers and *rajas* had to be left to themselves, and the vast bulk of the warlike and armed agricultural peasantry together with the inevitable monopoly over the subordinate machinery of government that was enjoyed by Hindu clerks made no other course possible. Moreover it was certainly found often possible for the Hindus to obtain justice, even as against Muslims. Rebellion and open disaffection to Muslim rule were ruthlessly punished, and the main elements of disaffection sprang up chiefly from the ranks of the upper and hitherto dominant class of large landowners and petty chieftains. We are told that even as early as the thirteenth century there was in a few respects some sympathetic intercourse between Muslims and Hindus, and that 'the rule of the Slave Kings over their Hindu subjects, though disfigured by some intolerance and by gross cruelty towards the disaffected, was as just and humane as that of the Norman Kings in England, and far more tolerant than that of Philip II in Spain and in the Netherlands.' This conclusion should indeed be startling to some scholars, but it is supported by irrefutable testimony.

In Chapter V which deals the Khalji Imperialism, the Editor makes an intelligent contribution to our knowledge of Ala-ud-din's financial and economic measures. His arbitrary fixation of the prices of food-grains and commodities which has appeared abnormal to modern economists and historians, was less unreasonable than at first sight it seems, for the great treasure brought from the Deccan conquests had cheapened money and inflated prices and operated most forcibly in the capital and the suburban area to a degree hardly comprehensible at the present day. As regards Muhammad Tughlaq's rule, the Editor who had made an illuminating contribution on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1922), does not go to the extreme of revulsion from the ordinary estimate of the Sultan to which Mr. Gardner Brown and other recent scholars have gone; but takes a moderate view. He would maintain that the Sultan's peculiar vice as a judge and administrator was his inordinate pride which deprived him of the power of discrimination and which is described so impressively and frankly even

by Zia-ud-din Barani who wrote his history under a sense of gratitude to, and fear of the Sultan. In his devotion to the details of administration the Indian Sultan is compared to Philip II, though not, it may be maintained, with perfect justice. Again from Barani the Editor tries to show that Muhammad's scheme of a copper token currency was not born out of a sense of vast power and great wealth as is maintained by Edward Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (1871, pp 239-47), but formed a part of his extravagant designs and belief that his fiat could make any measure successful. His regulations, termed *ustūb* (methods) aimed at so improving agriculture after the great famine of the epoch that plenty would have reigned throughout the earth and not one span of land would be uncultivated. The Sultan's genius and character alike were an enigma to those who knew him best, like Barani and Ibn Batūtah. Sir Wolsely draws a discriminating comparison between Nasir-ud-din Mahmud and Firuz Tughlaq who are always equated by Indian historians as to their justice and clemency.

The Editor is at his best in the chapters on the Deccan kingdoms where he throws light on the ministerial and provincial organization of the Bahmani state and on the part played by foreigners in its decline and disruption. He takes the narrative of the five independent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan down to the beginning of Mughal aggression on them while Dr Aiyangar, in his usual thorough and scholarly manner, goes back to the remote origins of Vijayanagara which can be truly explained in the political situation of South India and the Deccan at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He lays stress on the part played by the last great Hoysala ruler, Vira Ballala III, in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar and on the real significance of the Saluva and Tuluva usurpations of the Vijayanagar throne. He also says that the evacuation of the strongly fortified city of Vijayanagar after Talikota has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and he would seem to suggest that the explanation of the traveller Cæsar Frederick who was at Vijayanagar in 1567 to the effect that the abandonment of the city was due to the mutiny of two large bodies of Muslim mercenaries in the service of the Hindu state was probably the truth.

Sir Denison Ross, Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, who is the editor of *An Arabic History of Gujarat* traces the history of

independent Gujarat down to its absorption in Akbar's Empire ; while Mr. Harvey continues the story of Burma from the point where it has been left in the unpublished second volume ; and as a consequence the narrative begins rather abruptly and takes us on without due notice, through the period of Shan immigration and rule. Similar in character is the chapter of Ceylonese history which begins equally abruptly from the reign of Vijaya Bahu (1213-1234) and takes us on to the epoch of the arrival of Portuguese adventurers.

The last chapter is the longest as well as the most interesting of the book, where Sir John Marshall gives us a graphic outline of the evolution of the Indo-Islamic art which, he cautions, should be treated neither as a local variety of Islamic art in general nor as a merely modified form of Hindu art. Almost every Islamic land from Spain to Persia, while accepting standardized forms and concepts in general use, developed 'a local Muslim style of its own, based primarily on indigenous ideals and stamped with a strong national individuality'. India saw Muslim architecture inheriting or absorbing manifold forms and concepts from the Hindu—'so many, indeed, that there is hardly a form or motif of Indian architecture, which in some guise or other did not find its way into the buildings of the conquerors'. The Delhi School of Architecture had six centuries of continuous growth and witnessed shifting periods of the domination of Muslim and Hindu ideal by turn—the Qutb Minar strongly marked by a reaction against Indianization which made itself felt more in the Khalji period, while the Sayyid and Lodi buildings gave encouragement to the latent genius of Hindustan and at the same time derived a large amount of inspiration from Persian art. The various provincial styles had their own marked individual traits. The Gujarat Muslim School shone by happy combination of the strong traditions of the pre-existing schools with the Imperial architecture of Delhi at its highest point of expression. Even the Malwa style, though taking its main essentials from Delhi, has its own peculiarities of construction and ornament. Unlike Fergusson who placed the Jaunpur buildings in the foremost rank of Indo-Islamic monuments, Sir John Marshall would find in them weakness of composition and lack of rhythm ; and the juxtaposition of flat propylons and domes behind them constitutes in his opinion an inexcusable anomaly of which no one imbued with the true spirit of Islamic art would have been guilty. Much of the military architecture

f the Bahmanis was introduced directly from Europe ; while their civil monuments were largely influenced by Persian ideals, more than any other contemporary Indian style ; and it was not particularly difficult to find among the foreign adventurers in the Bahmani Court Turkish and other soldiers familiar with European fortifications. The whole chapter on architecture is highly instructive and forms a great improvement on Fergusson who is shown to have been wrong, even in some cases on points of fact.

The bibliography is scanty for most of the chapters except ch. xviii, xxi and xxii ; it ignores indigenous sources in Hindi, like the *Alka Khanda* and *Chand Raza* and in many places too exclusively Persian and Islamic. The chronological and dynastic tables are full so far as they go ; and the beautiful series of plates has been included thanks to a generous contribution of Sir Dorabji Tata.

C. S. S.

‘ HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI ’

BY

R. GOPALAN

University Research Student, 1920-24

EDITED FOR THE UNIVERSITY WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M A., PH. D

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University.

THIS book embodies the work of Mr. R. Gopalan as University student and forms an up-to-date history of the Pallavas of Kanchi. The University Professor in his valuable introduction summarizes the salient features of the book and incorporates his further studies in the solutions of the problems of the Pallava period during recent years.

Chapter I makes reference to the history of previous research on the subject by Sir Walter Elliott, James Fergusson, Dr. Fleet, Venkayya, J. Dubreul and Krishnaswami Iyengar and gives an account of the several sources and their value. The recently discovered Sanskrit works *Avanti Sundari Kathasara* and *Matlavilasa Prahazana* indicate the literary and religious activity of the period.

Chapter II summarizes all the theories about the origin of the Pallavas. The author concludes that 'the theory of the foreign origin of the Pallavas, especially that which gives them a Parthian or Persian home, is without foundation'. He also rejects Dubreuil's theory of the eastward migration of the Pahlavas in the second century. The Pallavas (Intrn.) 'began as the officers of the Satavahanas and ultimately rose to undisputed possession of the territory of Kanchi'.

Chapter III gives an account of the Early Pallavas of the Prakrit records, A. D. 200 to 550. There were five Pallava kings from the founder, Bappadeva to Vishnugopa, the contemporary of Samudragupta. They had two capitals, one in the Telugu region at Dhanyaketa and another in the Tamil region at Kanchi. Bappa's successor, Sivasiskandavarma carried on extensive conquests, as evidenced by his performance of *Asvamedha*. The administration of the early Pallavas resembled the Asokan type of government.

Chapter IV gives an account of the early Pallavas of the Samskrit records, A.D. 350-600. The author gives a tentative list of the whole series of Pallava kings from Bappa to Simhavishnu, A.D. 600. He points out that there was no Chola interregnum in the fifth century at Kanchi, as was believed by Venkayya and Krishna Sastri (page 64).

Chapter V deals with some of the contemporary royal dynasties that ruled in the Dakhan during the period, such as the Kadambas, the Vishnukundins and the Salankayanas.

Chapters VI and VII give us a very lucid account of the kings from Simhavishnu, A.D. 575 to Paramesvaravarma, A.D. 701. It was an important period in South Indian History. The influence of these kings on the culture and thought of the period is well brought out in these two chapters. One of the most important discoveries of the Department of Epigraphy was the identification of the sculptures of Simhavishnu and his successor, Mahendravarman at the Adivarahaswami temple at Mahabalipuram. These kings were great patrons of the fine arts. The vestiges of the paintings at Sittanavasal and a musical inscription discovered in the Pudukkotta State are of great interest. Samskrit learning was also very much patronized by these monarchs.

Chapter VIII deals with the dynastic revolution which resulted in the accession of Hiranyavarman I, son of Nandivarman, of the collateral line on the throne. Nandivarman's reign of sixty-five years was the longest in the Pallava family. The Chalukya-Pallava struggle is renewed and

Chalukya Vikramaditya II captured the city of Kanchi. Nandivarma, however, recaptured it after some time. The author concludes the chapter by saying that 'the notion that his reign was short having been distracted by continuous wars as a result of which his kingdom was much reduced now appears to be incorrect.'

Chapter IX deals with the successors of Nandivarma. It was believed that there was a dynastic displacement and that a new dynasty of Ganga-Pallavas came to power. The author points out that there was a regular succession in the line of Nandivarma and that there is no reason to believe in the theory of the Ganga-Pallava accession.

The concluding chapter gives an account of the administrative system, central and local, the system of taxation and the literary activity of the age.

The value of the book is enhanced by the three appendices containing a chronological index of Pallava inscriptions and extracts from MAHAVAMSA AND AVANTI SUNDARI KATHASARA.

S. H. R.

'CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'

BY

ARTHUR MAYHEW, C I E, LONDON

[Faber and Gwyer, Ltd, pp xi and 260 —price 12/6 net]

THIS book is based on the idea that the Government of India has been growingly influenced by the Christian spirit ever since the middle of the eighteenth century and traces the relation between the Government and Christian missions from the beginning of that century. It does not presume to treat of the influence of a Christian government on the social, moral and religious life of India in detail, nor to be a personal record of great men in the missionary and official spheres, though the pioneer figures of Swartz and Carey stand out in bold relief in the treatment, like 'mountain peaks that catch the first glow of dawn'. Edmund Burke first roused the conscience of England in Indian affairs; and Wilberforce and Carey had to struggle for more than a quarter of a century, before the right of free entry of Christian workers into India was firmly established in the Charter of 1813. During the time that Carey was struggling in the years of his unlicensed evangelical work, it seemed doubtful, in spite of Lord Cornwallis's church-going and the Clapham affinities of Sir John Shore, whether, in the eyes of the Indian people, the Company had,

by its commission as well as omission, any religion of its own to communicate to them. Much of the seed sown by the Baptists of Serampore and by the labour of Claudius Buchanan was rendered unfruitful by the reaction that followed the Vellore Mutiny; 1813 however saw that a new attitude began towards Christian effort, and henceforward the main trend of Christian and missionary activity was towards the winning of protection and fair treatment for their converts and the assisting and stimulating of the civil authorities in the legislative, administrative and educational spheres. Christian missions tried 'to encourage a constitutionally timid government to profess more openly the faith to which as trustee of a Christian nation it was pledged' 'Dry-nurse to Vishnu' and 'Trustee of Juggernaut' were terms which were applied by Christian missions in their zeal to the Company which was pledged to the recognition of existing and long-established rights and privileges, and to continue all state endowments of Hindu and Muhammadan worship. Government was committed by precedent as well as by a sense of its own obligations to the patronage and in the matter of protection of the religious institutions and ceremonies of its subjects, and to blame the government for not merely honouring, but also considerably enlarging their 'polytheistic liabilities' is for the author to go one step too far and to criticize government for an attitude which only created a sense of security in the minds of the people. In fact the writer himself points out how the gradual withdrawal of government from the management and patronage of temples in the decade following 1843 was 'undoubtedly responsible for some of its unpopularity in 1857' (p. 152). The forcing by evangelical zeal of the hands of government to give up all connection with Hindu and Muhammadan religious institutions and ceremonies was rendered all the more unbalanced and partial by the insistent demand made that government should openly support and patronize Christian missionary undertakings.

The author rightly points out that the Common idea of Government's Christian tendencies stirring Hindu and Islamic orthodoxy to revolt in the Sepoy Mutiny cannot survive a reference to facts. The danger arose from other factors; but the interested stirred up discontent in a few places on this alleged ground. Missionaries and mission institutions alone were not singled out for attack; and when they suffered it was 'for loyalty to the British rather than to their

religion.' The following conclusion of the author will find general acceptance.—

'It was not Christian influence, nor indeed the intrusion of any new religion, that caused a panic, but the selfish and destructive motives attributed, partly in cunning and partly *bona fide*, by priests and potentates to government action which seemed to threaten their interests'

After the Mutiny, out of which emerged the spirit of Lawrence rather than of Hodson, government has been displaying more general tolerance of Indian modes of life and worship, 'though less submission to what was morally harmful in them.' Missionary influence on education, which was substantially advanced by *Bentinck's declaration* of 1835, was furthered by the Education Despatch of 1854 and has not aroused any resentment at all, except sporadically. Mr Mayhew regrets rather plaintively that the development of social self-government has resulted in the increase of soulless, secular education, chiefly in the shape of indigenous aided schools. He tries to explain the absence in general of religious opposition to specifically Christian teaching and to legislative and executive acts obviously inspired by Christian principles, but his explanation is not fully consistent with a real psychological analysis of Hindu social and ethical ideas. It attributes all the credit to a growing knowledge of the personality of Christ and reverence for his characteristics. He is conscious that Indian Christianity has become fully national and a living and operative force in national life, and Christianity is no longer viewed as an exotic and western plant.

The book, though professing to be but a patch-work, is really a mosaic of many-coloured ideas, yielding, as the author claims for it, 'a new design.' We cannot agree, however, with several ideas expressed by the author as the following.—

(1) The Hindu idea of kingship includes the determination and patronage of a state religion always.

(2) Hinduism can be adapted to the demands of selfishness and lust (p. 213). The first is true only with large modifications, and the second which tries to exalt Christianity, condemns Hinduism unheard. We cite this as sample of generalities that may convey wrong impressions.

'A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA'

BY

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN, D.LITT.,

Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University.

[Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd Price Rs. 2-8.]

WE have before us a short history of India intended for the use of schoolgoing students entitled a *School History of India*. The object of the book is, according to the preface, 'to tell not merely the story of kings and queens but also the story of the Indian people—of their mode of life, culture, occupations, literature, art and government.' The effort is indeed a laudable one, and we are afraid the learned professor has not succeeded in his rather ambitious aim. No doubt every part of the first three parts of the book ends with a chapter on civilization of the Hindus, 'Pathans' and the Moghuls respectively. But in these chapters there is not enough material to portray 'these permanent elements of our civilization which have moulded the thought and life of Asia.' The author would have done well if he had devoted more space to this aspect of the question as the work is primarily intended for school students.

No impartial reader could help remarking that the book lacks proportion. While the author has devoted only sixty-five pages to the Hindu period, he has devoted 181 pages to the Muhammadan period including the Moghuls, and 123 pages to the British period. In writing a history of India, and especially for school-boys, it is our opinion that more attention must be given to the story of the Indian people when India was Hindu India. An equal, if not more, attention must be paid to the life of the people during Muhammadan and British rule. But the author has chosen to treat the British period in about double the number of pages, and the Muhammadan period in about treble the number of pages allotted to the story of Hindu India. When so much space is given to Babur, Akbar and Aurangzib, why not the same space for the Mauryan and the Gupta periods of Hindu India. Our reading of the history of India shows that the progress of life of the Indian people according to Hindu genius theoretically ended with the advent of the Muhammadans in India and practically with the advent of the British. As a result of contact with their civilization

and culture, our outlook has been changed, and the birth of a New India is the consequence. The history of New India is largely the history of the future. A text-book therefore on Indian history must try to present, as a necessary preliminary, every aspect of India's life and culture as it was understood and realized in ancient times

V. R. R.

‘GOTAMA THE MAN’

BY

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, D LITT., M A.

[Published by Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, Price 4 sh.]

WHEN the Sacred Books of the Buddhists were not available in large numbers and when Pali scholarship was the monopoly of the privileged few, what the scholar Rhys Davids wrote was deemed authoritative. From the bits available then, theories were built and books were written about Buddhism. ‘No one can be wise’ says the author ‘who writes from half knowledge and no one has got beyond that yet. Men write in a hurry.’ Thanks to the Pali Text Society, we have before us a pretty good collection, if not all, of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, some with Commentaries also. Mrs. Rhys Davids who is one of the scholars devoted to a special study of the Buddhist books and who is the author of several well-known works on Buddhism has now placed before us her recent work on ‘Gotama the Man.’

In this book an attempt is made to review the early life and career of Gautama, as if narrated by him, taking into account all the recent investigations in Buddhist literature. The attempt is a laudable one. The whole life is so vividly presented as to be intelligible even to a lay reader. The style is flowing and the whole work is pleasant reading.

In presenting this work to the public at large we are afraid that the learned scholar has not revised her old opinions in the light of recent researches and investigations. Limitation of space compels me to point out only a few places wherein observations made ought to be subjected to clear revision.

1. That the Buddha decried the Vedas, the fire cult, the rituals of the Brahmins.

2. That the Buddha looked down upon the monks and revolted against the monk monopoly.

3. That the Buddha used Brahmanical words and expressions such as *Dharma*, *Ātma*, *Brahmacarya* but gave them entirely a new meaning.

4. That the Buddha attempted to elevate the status of women in society by honouring them with equal freedom.

5. And that Asoka was a Buddhist and engaged himself in a propaganda for the spread of Buddhism.

As against the first statement it may be shown that the first followers of the Buddha, several of them at least, were Brahmins discontented or otherwise. Even according to the learned author only after the Brahmin brothers Kassapa and their followers were won over, people accorded them (the Buddhists) notice and repute (p. 122). It may be that Kassapa and others were impressed by the will power and psychic powers of the Buddha. But the will power is in no way opposed to the fire-cult. Rituals and fire worship are intended for those in the first three *āśramas* or stages of life. Once the robes of an ascetic are put on, then one is released from all *karma* literally. In that way perhaps Kassapa and his brothers gave up the fire-cult. We have yet to see a pronounced statement made by the Buddha against the fire-cult as such.

The other statement that the Buddha was against the monks does not bring home conviction to us. The layman Buddha understood the value and significance of becoming an ascetic. Then alone he had the support of the laity. In fact it was the Brahmin Koṭṭhīlā (p. 90) who converted the Buddha to this way of thinking. The author says 'Monks we were, monks we had to be' . . . 'I had myself a high worth in the monk so far as he was a man with a teaching which the world needed' (p. 91). Because some monks have been depicted in the *Vinaya* as lazy, worldly, quarrelsome, impure, can be no reason that the Buddha was up in arms against the monk world as such. The degradation was due to indiscriminately entertaining all sorts of people into the *Saṅgha*. Hence what is to be condemned is the unhealthy method which enabled every idler to enter the *Saṅgha*.

It is a strange contention to say that the Buddha used Brahmanical terms and gave them a new meaning. The meanings of words like

Dharma, Maya, Brahmacharya as understood by the Buddhists are all meanings familiar to every devout follower of the Veda. The Buddha knew that to make his teachings heard, he must use the current expressions and familiar terms. There is no doubt that he used them in their original meaning. After all whatever may be the later and latest developments of Buddhism, the first teacher did not announce that he was founding a new religion entirely different from the established religion of the land.

It is a wrong reading of the Hindu sacred literature that women were considered inferior to men in every respect and were denied the privileges of equality and freedom, and that they were not duly honoured. Woman has always been regarded as the queen of the household and Manu, the lawgiver prescribes that where women are not honoured, then homes will ever be of woe and wail. The same sentiments are common to Tamil India as is evident from a number of verses from the Tamil classic the *Kurral*. When such is the case, it is unthinkable of any inferior position to women given in Hindu Society. It seems to us equally wrong to say that the Buddha was in full support of their emancipation. The Buddhist books clearly show that the Buddha was at first against admitting women into the *Sangha*. Later on he seems to have yielded to the wishes of his near and dear relative Pajapati who insisted on their inclusion. When the Buddha came to realize that women entering the *Sangha* became a permanent factor, he is said to have remarked that his religion would not endure for more than five centuries. Again there is evidence to demonstrate that, like every true Hindu, he honoured such women who did not neglect the care of the home and who wedded themselves to the duties and responsibilities of the home. (pp. 30 and 31 : also p. 131).

Lastly a scholar of standing, the Rev. Father Heras, S. J., has recently argued with ability, in the pages of the Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore) that Asoka was not a Buddhist by faith. And to say that Asoka propagated the gospel of Buddhism does not stand on an unquestioned footing.

In attempting to establish her thesis, Mrs. Rhys Davids has to select, choose and eschew passages from Buddhist Texts and commentaries. No doubt the so-called Sacred Books of the Buddhists were compiled long after the death of the Buddha. They are apt to be

defective. Some of them may be fables and mere stories. The accounts may be perverted, onesided or genuine. It is the duty of the critical historian to arrive at the kernel of historical truth from the vast mass of literature in the light of other contemporary evidence. Wherever it does not suit her purpose, the author throws away a passage or a commentary on it, as perverted and worthless and not transmitting the original words of the Buddha. Such disregard of sections of books is to attach no value or importance to the works as a whole. Incidentally the value of the Vedas is questioned as for example that the worth of the *mantra* was more in the 'how' than in the 'what' of the saying (p 84). We do not propose to examine here such unwarranted statements. Suffice it to say they are mere sentiments but not statements with legs to stand on.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

‘ INDIAN ARCHITECTURE ’

ACCORDING TO MANASA SILPASASTRA

AND

‘ A DICTIONARY OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE ’

BY

DR P. K. ACHARYA, I E S.,

Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University.

[Published by the Oxford University Press for the Allahabad University, Rs 10]

THESE two works by Dr. P. K. Acharya, I.E.S., Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University, are works of a monumental character, on which Dr. Acharya had been engaged for very near a decade. The Dictionary is a work of architectural terms collected originally by the author for his own reference on the strength of which he submitted a thesis and obtained the degree of D Litt. from the University of London. The work is of an encyclopædic character explaining architectural terms in Sanskrit not merely from the Mānasāra, a classical work on the subject, but from the Śilpaśāstra works generally. These so-called Śilpaśāstras and Vāstuśāstras are found in some number in manuscripts in various characters, and are written in a Sanskrit which is not the Sanskrit of classical works. It is barbarous Sanskrit in the sense that it is not Sanskrit of the learned, but more or

less a kind of Sanskrit understood of the ordinary and exhibiting peculiarities of its own. Apart from professed works on architecture, such as the Śilpaśāstras and the Vāstuśāstras, there are a number of other classes of works in Sanskrit which have a great volume of information on the subjects, occasionally even more illuminating actually than even the professed works themselves. Several of the *Purānas* contain chapters bearing on this subject and all the *Āgamas* have sections devoted to this subject, particularly religious architecture. Dr. Acharya has carefully collected all this material, classified and sorted it under particular heads and provided us a reference book on the subject, for which a reference book was very badly needed. The ordinary dictionaries prove defective and even such general cyclopædias, as the *Sabdakalpadruma* and *Vachaspathya* are not always sufficiently informing. It will be difficult to go into the details of a work like this, which draws its information from professed architectural works, the *Purānas* and the *Āgamas* and other classes of Sanskrit literature generally. What is more, a very large number of inscriptions do contain illuminating details regarding architecture. They have all been drawn upon by Dr. Acharya in this volume in a form handy enough for reference and not altogether unsuitable even for reading generally.

In the second work, Indian Architecture, Dr. Acharya presents his own study of the Śilpaśāstras generally. He takes for his text the Mānasāra as the principal architectural work and brings round it other works, such as he has been able to bring into comparison with it. He divides this work into five books, in the first of which he gives a general survey of the literature on the subject indicating architecture as a subject which enjoyed a considerable degree of popularity. He deals with the subject in divisions, such as the architectural details found in Vedic and Buddhist literature on the one side, and in regard to classical literature he subdivides the subject into references in the books, the *Purānas* and *Āgamas* and miscellaneous other traditions. In the next division, he proceeds to consider the professed treatise on the subject beginning with a detailed consideration of the Mānasāra as the chief text. He brings into comparison with this work the Śilpaśāstra known as Mayamata and an *Āgamaic* work like the Amśumadbhēda Āgama. Other works are brought into comparison, such as the Śilpaśāstras of Viśva-Karma, of Agastya, of Sanat-Kumāra

and of Maṇḍana. Last of all he considers the handbook known as the Śilpaśaṅgraha, which is often quoted in authority, for various purposes relating to architecture and iconography. The third disquisition is devoted to an examination of the position of Mānasāra in literature. Dr. Acharya examines this in four sections and comes to the general conclusion that the Mānasāra is by far the most comprehensive work, and forms, as it were, the basis of all text-books in Sanskrit literature, whether it be works on Śilpaśāstra professedly or Śilpa chapters in other works of a generally encyclopædic character. The next section is devoted to a consideration of the classical European work of Vitruvius on architecture. There are many points of interest that he discusses in regard to the two works and the possibility of a connection between the two. Dr. Acharya finds at the end of his investigation that it would be safer now to leave the question open rather than offer what must be perhaps a conclusion on insufficient data. We may point out that he finds similarities in various matters which to him seem to argue for affiliation of the one on to the other. But as far as we could make out from the details that he himself gives, it strikes us that the items of similarity are none of them of a sufficiently fundamental character to argue for affiliation necessarily. Then he proceeds to a consideration of the age of the Mānasāra and arrives at the general conclusion that it is perhaps previous to all other works bearing on the subject and he regards it as ascribable to the brilliant period of Indian history, the age of the Guptas. Here again we feel that the arguments are hardly conclusive, while he may be right in ascribing it to the age of the Guptas. It does not seem to us necessary for writing an encyclopædic work of this kind there should have been an empire for the whole of the country. At no time in history was communication between different parts so bad in India that an author who devoted himself to the study of a particular subject could not travel from place to place ; much rather it seems to have been a habitual feature of early Indian education that scholars travelled from kingdom to kingdom in search of particular masters in particular branches of study with a freedom, which it would be enviable if we could command with all the modern improvements and superior organization that we boast of.

Space forbids our going into greater detail, but we may conclude the review with the greatest pleasure by pointing out that the

preliminary study as well as the Dictionary give evidence of the great industry, ability and enthusiasm of Dr. Acharya in the pursuit of his work, which he commenced perhaps fifteen years ago. Notwithstanding the ups and downs that he has had, it is gratifying to note that he has had the support and patronage of the Government of the United Provinces, which enabled him ultimately to publish the work in a form creditable to all concerned. We wish the author and his work all success.

‘MEMORANDUM ON RESIGNATION AUGUST 1914’

BY

JOHN, VISCOUNT MORLEY

[Messrs. Macmillan & Co , Ltd., London.]

THIS valuable document on the resignation of the great statesman on the eve of the war is undoubtedly of very great importance and has not been published too soon for the information of the public. On the all-important topic other books have appeared and other views have been given publicity by the four important publications referred to on page ix of the introduction, viz., two works by the Earl of Oxford, ‘The Genesis of the War,’ and ‘Extracts from his Diary’, and two other works. Viscount Grey’s ‘Twenty-five Years’ and Mr. Winston Churchill’s ‘The World Crisis.’ The Memorandum sets forth the actual circumstances that impelled Lord Morley and Mr. John Burns to resign their places in the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, it led to the resignation of four members, of whom two had been persuaded to join again the Coalition Ministry, leaving therefore only these two out of the Cabinet. The Memorandum was entrusted to his nephew by the late Lord Morley before his death and had been submitted by Lord Morley himself to criticism both by Burns and by Earl Loreburn, whose testimony that it records correctly what took place, is of value, if such additional testimony were required to anything written by ‘honest John.’

The important question does not really concern so very much to war-guilt and its apportionment, but is very illuminating as exhibiting individual and Cabinet responsibility in regard to matters diplomatic. The question arose as to what the *entente cordiale* between England and

France committed England to in respect of France when war threatened. This was complicated by the possible violation of Belgian neutrality: What exactly the treaties of 1839 and 1867 imposed upon England in such a possibility arising. Morley's position is made clear that enough had not been done short of war to avert the crisis so far, at any rate, as England was concerned, and there seems to lurk behind the Memorandum the notion that the war even could have been avoided by firm diplomatic handling of the situation short of war, as the consequences of the war have been put before the Cabinet by Burns in quite a graphic form giving a correct anticipation of all the calamities actually experienced during the war and after. It raises the further point of how far the Cabinet was entitled to know what the Foreign Minister may be doing and how far the Foreign Minister could be allowed, actually without consulting the Cabinet, to Commit the country to, with other powers, such as France here, by conversation by individual Cabinet members, in this case, the Foreign Secretary. The document is one of great interest and is provided with an introduction written by a coadjutor of Lord Morley, and friend, Mr. F. W. Hirst, which supplies a general background for understanding the position, if such were needed.

'INDIA ON TRIAL; A STUDY OF PRESENT CONDITIONS'

BY

J. E. WOOLACOTT

[Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.]

THE author, formerly correspondent of the Times at Delhi and Simla, attempts in this book primarily to enlighten the English public upon the present condition of India, so that the British electorate may take an intelligent view of the position, particularly on the eve of the revision of the constitution that is impending. The object of the book, in the words of the author, is to 'impel every thoughtful citizen to acquaint himself with the achievements of the British in India, the constitution which exists in India to-day and the gravity of the Indian problems that await solution.' In a somewhat more detailed form, the position is expounded that 'India has derived inestimable benefits from the British connection: that the administration of India to-day,

while sharing the imperfections, inherent in all human institutions, is inspired by honesty of purpose and high ideals of duty ; and that any weakening of the links which join the destinies of England and India would be pregnant with evil possibilities for both countries. The working of the reformed constitution will also be examined and the genesis of the many outbreaks of violence that have occurred in recent years will be discussed.' The author carries out this scheme of his in the work in seventeen chapters, beginning with the Mythical India and ending with the interrogation What of the future India? There are chapters bearing on the very many familiar subjects in a question like this. The work may be regarded more or less as a reasonably accurate presentation of the condition of India, as one finds it exhibited in the reports and documents issued from time to time by Government and as incorporated in the speeches of those speaking on behalf of the Government of India. To that extent it may serve the useful purpose of enlightening the uninitiated as to the position as expounded authoritatively from the point of view of the official side. It is only when he steps beyond this that he transcends the limits of his capacity for taking a dispassionate view of the whole position. Even in respect of some of those chapters where he holds up to view the achievements of British rule in India, the facts and figures presented are not always what exactly they are. But when he gets to deal with the opposition and the activities of the political parties in opposition, he hardly shows the required degree of insight, and fails to exhibit their position fairly. That anxiety which is evident in presenting the achievements of the administration cannot be said to be shown in dealing with the other side. Just as he admits that governments might have made mistakes, other political parties might make mistakes, and even very serious ones at that. The real question that is the cause of all the trouble he does not present with sufficient emphasis. It would be rather difficult to argue that the Swarajists and people of that ilk whom he criticizes severely are all of them irresponsible and ignorant people that they are represented to be. This becomes evident in regard to the Nehru Report and after. Some of those that took part in the production of that report and are taking part actively in presenting it as the united demand of India are people who held responsible positions under the government and therefore could be expected to understand better the position than those who are

not accustomed to the esoteric technique of the administration. Even Dr. (Mrs.) Beasant, whom he quotes with approval in one connection, is enthusiastically for it and he hardly mentions these facts or attempts to give an explanation of how this comes about. We have no wish to be partisan either politically or otherwise. We wish merely to point out that the book fails to present the other side fairly. In regard to the Mythical India, that India is assuredly beyond the depth of the Times Correspondent, as we have had occasion to show of even such an extremely well-informed writer like Sir Valentine Chirol, his great predecessor, and if the administration is all that is claimed to be in this particular work, those British statesmen, who felt the need for doing something and launched India out on the reforms must have been seriously mistaken. While therefore the extremists may be brushed aside, as extremists have to be, whether in India or elsewhere, there is a body of opinion which cannot be characterized as extremist, which still exhibits lively dissatisfaction in regard to the existing state of affairs; and that has to be given more consideration that this author seems inclined to. That is the whole point. More success is claimed for diarchy than happens to be actually the case, perhaps much more irresponsibility is ascribed to the Legislative Assembly than would have been the case, if there had been more responsibility, and the communal bhogie is plied for all that is worth, while it stands to reason that an established administration would put an end to it under democracy, as a more or less vigorous beauracracy had succeeded in doing it before.

Most of the unsatisfactory features of the present position described in the book are ascribable to the want of responsibility in the governing body, as to the irresponsible way in which they have been exercising the power that they possess. The unsatisfactory features are features that an experiment like this is bound to produce. With a little more of sympathetic insight and inclination not to touch susceptibilities on the raw, it would be possible to achieve more success even on this experimental scheme. It is hardly suitable in a review to take up any one of the many questions raised and deal with it satisfactorily. Hence our disinclination to get into details. The book may serve a useful purpose as a handbook presenting one side of it fairly faithfully, and those who read it must remember that it presents one side of the picture and not both sides.

' INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES '

BY

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M. A.

[Vol. I. Education and Propagation of Culture. Messrs Longmans]

EACH race contributes something unique and essential to the world's civilization in the course of its own self-expression and self-realization. In facing and solving problems arising in its own environment, in evolving a scheme of organized social existence in harmony with itself and its surroundings, it gathers experiences and develops memories which furnish the foundation for the culture that it rears and hands down through generations. The culture of a people is their make-up, inherited by tradition and education, their habitual way of looking ' after themselves and one another, and the way they look at that which is not themselves ' Their art and literature, religion, philosophy, society and government, their manners, modes and beliefs, their attitude to persons and things extraneous to themselves, are all expressions of their culture. As time lapses, civilization becomes more complex and the commerce of nations more widespread ; borrowing, imitation and absorption are constantly at work and the result is a certain universalization of the more external aspects of culture. But behind all such mutations, there lie certain fundamental traits, which may after all be no more than a difference in stress, a slight difference in the gradation of social and spiritual values, which controls and guides the development of each people in the present and to some extent determines its future. There is perhaps no more fascinating pursuit for the philosophic historian than the study of these basic elements in the culture of a people and their action through the centuries

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara undertakes ' to describe and interpret the genius of India and explain her contribution to the world's culture ' in a series of volumes devoted to ' Indian culture through the Ages ' Each volume ' deals with an aspect of culture from the evolutionary as well as from the comparative point of view. The present volume deals with the supreme gift of India to the world—education in the fullest and highest sense of the term.' The author discusses the genesis and characteristics of Indian culture as a whole in a general introduction (pp. 1-45) and gathers the results of his

study of Ancient Indian Education in a concluding chapter on 'our heritage' (pp. 299-318). Four chapters on 'Vedic Foundations' (pp. 49-104), 'Post-Vedic System Building' (pp. 105-184), 'Buddhist and Hindu Educational Institutions' (pp. 185-256) and 'The Middle Ages and the Broadcasting of Culture' (pp. 257-298) contain the author's account of the evolution and peculiarities of the educational system of Ancient India and the part it played in the propagation of culture among the masses.

Any work on so attractive a theme will be turned to by a reader with great eagerness and no doubt every one will find much in Prof. Venkateswara's book that is well worth knowing and pondering. The vast learning of the author, and his close acquaintance with the sources of his subject, literary and archæological, are seen on almost every page of the book and there is much sound description of several important aspects of the ancient educational system of the country. But as we read through the book a certain sense of dissatisfaction grows on us that by the time we reach the end of the book the dissatisfaction almost amounts to disappointment. We seem to have missed something which is essential to the rational understanding of the whole and the realization of the inner meaning of the new facts we have learned. We do not get any clear impression in our minds of the evolution in the system of Indian education, or of the features that distinguished it from that of other countries that are often mentioned in the course of the book—Egypt, Babylonia and China. Nor are we in a position to say that we have quite understood the role of her 'sound system of education' in enabling India 'to preserve and propagate her cultural heritage in spite of military hurricanes and political cataclysms.'

It may not be a vain endeavour to try and find the source of this uneasy feeling with which the reader is left. It would appear ultimately to arise from two drawbacks which characterize the book. One of these is a fault of emphasis and the other of method.

Ancient Indian Society was a highly articulated and complex structure based on certain fundamental assumptions. In olden days many who were wise and good and learned cherished many beliefs which we may now look upon with amused contempt; yet, they captured the secret of so organizing social life and relations as to make it natural and easy for every one to make the best of his life

here without losing his soul. It was a social culture based on obligation and duty rather than on self-assertion and right, and if the aim of civilization is control over environment, this control was in the last resort sought to be attained more by control over the self than by any other means. It is remarkable how little we hear of the personal life of the founders and leaders of thought in ancient India. At every turn we get a great sense of collective effort coupled with studied anonymity on the part of individuals. How nebulous are the names of Vyasa, Manu and Yagnavalkya. And yet how close the association between their thought and the daily life of the nation which cherishes them. It is perhaps not an accident that, in the whole range of Indian literature, we have no autobiography and so little biography and history. Again, social life was dominated by an anxiety to conserve the past achievements of the race and hand them to succeeding generations so that the common man was not encouraged to question too much about things or to set up as a reformer. The binding force of tradition is never once doubted though new traditions may grow imperceptibly with changing conditions under the guidance of the choice spirits of every age, the *śishtas*. If life in such an age lacked the stimulus of novelty and the thrill of adventure, it was characterized by a certain quietness and restful contentment, which is altogether unknown in our time. It is a remarkable feature of Indian social history that at no stage do we come across intellectual protests like those of Plato and Moore or social outbursts like the struggle between the Orders in Ancient Rome or the Peasants' Revolts of Mediæval Europe. And when the Buddha, by his assault on the Veda, threatened to shatter the foundations of Indian society, no quarter was given to him or his followers; but even so the best results of his protest were absorbed and assimilated by the orthodox system. This lasting inner harmony, social and intellectual, is perhaps the most characteristic trait of Indian culture. And this harmony does not seem to have been purchased at the sacrifice of any tangible earthly good. In art and science, in literature and philosophy, in painting, music and the drama, as also in the industrial arts and commercial activity Indians attained an eminence that compares well with similar achievements of other countries in those days. And recent research is gathering together much interesting evidence of the achievements of Indians across the seas and the mountains and is

bringing into view a greater India whose existence was so little suspected till the other day that the cultural isolation of India was a favourite theme with several writers on Indian subjects. Indians were as ready to take as they were to give and what they took from others they made part of their own in such a manner that it often seemed truly indigenous.

All this is evidence of a rare culture formation. Somehow the genius of the race struck the mean between ambition and effort on the one side and loyalty to its own ethics on the other and so ordered things that each could give to the world the best of what he has and be satisfied by their realizing the highest that is in him. And here is great work for a student of Indian culture in explaining, illustrating and interpreting this truly marvellous achievement of the makers of Indian Polity. It is only fair to say that we get occasional glimpses of these aspects in Prof. Venkateswara's work. He says, for instances, 'Indian arrangements were the result of a deliberate and self-conscious social organization based on a philosophy of society and directed to the realization of spiritual ends' (p. 19). Again, 'The peculiar excellence of Indian culture consists in the combination of ends, co-ordination of traits, in the organization of a hierarchy of ends (*chaturvarga*) and not merely the highest end (*Paramapurushartha*), a gradation of values, and in the purposeful systematization and intelligent direction of all resources of these progressive ends of humanity' (p. 23). Or yet again, 'The type of culture thus evolved was not merely theoretical, but penetrated to the heart of the people, and pervaded every important aspect of individual and social life' (p. 314). But these are more of the nature of *obiter dicta*, rather than conclusions emerging from a study and interpretation of the evidence on the subject. On the other hand, Prof. Venkateswara is so full of the conviction of the intrinsic excellence of the culture he deals with, that he spends himself rather more on vindication than on exposition and interpretation. This becomes clear in the lines of thought pursued by the author in the concluding sections of the Introduction in which he expounds the Indian view regarding solidarity, liberty, equality, progress and evolution. The attempt here is frankly to abridge the distance between Ancient Indian ideals and those of Modern Europe, and institute comparisons which are superficial and irrelevant. What for instance can one make of such a total distortion of the modern

idea of progress as in the following: 'The Indian conception of progress was not that of a perpetual commotion and ceaseless strife, but a steady improvement in the power of the subject to adjust himself to the changing conditions around him. . . . It means the acquisition of more and more power in self, a greater independence of external circumstances and influences; not a tame submission to misconceived social ideals of false or wrongly graded values. The devices and contrivances which pander to convenience in modern times will have to be regarded as not conducive to progress in this view, if they weaken self-help or sap the vitality of native resources' (p. 43). Or take this,—'Protection of the infant was ensured in the Indian system, which exalted maternity and child welfare. Protection for women against their natural weakness and the tendency to a relatively early fading away of bloom, and for the instinct of maternity, was provided by the social worship of the mother, a system of monogamy in practice, and the absence of provision for divorce. Protection for the intellectually inferior classes was secured by the dependence of the intelligentsia on them for its material wants, and the compensation they had in a practical monopoly of power and pelf' (pp. 38-39).

It is evident from such passages that Prof. Venkateswara is obsessed by his reading of present-day conditions in his study of Ancient Indian culture. His treatment of the educational system of Ancient India is likewise marked by a tendency to stress unduly the points of resemblance, however remote with modern conditions, and underrate the importance of significant differences in the aims and ideals of educational endeavour. Very often the author starts in quest of what is not there and gives us sections on 'Vedic Culture and the Masses', 'Women's Education', 'Scientific Method', 'Technical and Vocational Education', 'Higher Technical Education', and so on. On such subjects we are treated to multitudinous assertions which may or may not be accepted by the reader but which no one will be in a position to prove or disprove. 'The masses of Vedic India may not have been lettered or literate, but they were subject to cultural and educational influences. They had some sort of training in arts and crafts many of which are mentioned in the Vedic texts. . . . Education in public life and in the duties of citizenship may be postulated from the existence of such organizations as *Sabha*,

Samiti, Nitha, Vidatha ' (p. 65). 'In the absence of the general education of girls it would be difficult to account for the terms of equality that subsisted between husband and wife in this (Vedic) period' (p. 67). 'There were various practical and useful arts in which the youths of the time could get technical education and vocational instruction' (pp. 155-6). But the author is not evidently himself satisfied with these statements, and later on, in his criticism of Ancient Indian education from the modern standpoint, he denies the existence of most of the things that, in the earlier sections of his book, he has particularly sought to establish and yet would fain hold that India was the better for their absence. He says, for instance, 'There was no general provision for the higher education of girls or for the teaching of vernaculars. But society had not become a misfit needing to teach people artificially those things which ought to be really drawn in with the air they breathe. Little girls had not to be sent to school to learn domestic subjects or grown children to be taught their vernaculars or to learn good manners. Nor was there any provision for technical training or vocational instruction for those who were to follow the learned professions. The struggle for existence had not become so keen as to develop symptoms 'of that materialism, whether born of all pervading poverty or of all-conquering avarice, which regards utilitarianism as the *Summum bonum* of education' (p. 511). In such contradiction and special pleadings there is much that irritates a thoughtful reader.

The other drawback in the book arises from the method adopted by the author in presenting the evidence. There is no sense of movement or growth in the educational arrangements of Ancient India as expounded in this work. There are intrinsic difficulties here. The chronology of the subject, and specially that of the most seminal period of Indian culture, the age of the *Upanishads* and the *Sutras*, has not been satisfactorily settled. And in every branch of knowledge we have no access to the records of early efforts and the earliest writer we can go to in grammar, politics, medicine or philosophy mentions a considerable number of authors who preceded him in the field. Few books were actually written down and even in such cases, the multiplication of manuscripts was perhaps not easy. Learning was transmitted by memory and to establish a *Vidyavamsa* was perhaps the greatest ambition of an *Acharya*. Under such conditions, the appearance of a

great teacher often meant that the work of his lesser predecessors and often even their names passed into oblivion. This renders it all but impossible to trace the growth of any subject of study even in outline from its early beginnings to its systematization in a classical work, which, in its turn, furnished the basis for further study, elucidation and commentary. Again from the nature of the case, the evidence on the subject is fragmentary and it must take much laborious and critical effort before one can discover even in outline the means and methods of education in any particular place or period. The formal descriptions of *brahmacharya* in the law books are valuable in themselves as setting the norm, but they lack local colour and verisimilitude. Except for the observations of Chinese travellers bearing on a few centres of Buddhist learning at a comparatively late date, we have no contemporary descriptions or indeed direct evidence of any sort on a subject of this nature. These are all real difficulties. Prof. Venkateswara however is not troubled by any such obstacle in his path. He boldly simplifies his work by dividing his subject into Vedic and post-Vedic, and only tells us 'the type of culture described in the foregoing pages had been evolved in India well before the Muhammadan invasions' (p. 314). Even distinction between Vedic and post-Vedic is sometimes ignored and the *Upanishads*, *Nirukta* as also Asvalayana's *Grhyasutra* are quoted by the side of the earliest hymns of the *Rg Veda*. There is present throughout the book a persistent tendency to combine information drawn from various sources greatly differing from one another in their nature, time and place, and to draw a general picture meant to represent conditions in all India for an unspecified period of her history. To give only one such instance, the section on educational institutions (p. 159) combines the evidence drawn from the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jatakas*, the *Puranas*, the *Jaina Sutras* and the *Ramayana*. The author is also not always careful to distinguish what is evidence and what is not, and one cannot resist the feeling that he sometimes misquotes or misapplies well-known texts torn from their contexts as in his classification of students (p. 130) or that of religious conversations (p. 147). One may doubt also if the gradation of teachers into *Acharyas*, *Gurus*, *Upadhyayas* and *Sikshakas* (pp. 128-9) is borne out by our texts in the form in which Prof. Venkateswara expounds it. And when we are told that Sita 'could talk fluently in Sanskrit' (p. 110) we may well wonder if it means anything more

than that the author has been reading the *Ramayana* in the original. One last extract from the section 'Specialization in Education' (p. 202) — 'The rice diet of the southerners may have tended to idealism and imaginativeness, of which the fruits were soon to be reaped in the southern philosophical systems of the Vedanta. The wordy sword-play of the Bengalis was possibly due to their relative immunity of Bengal from foreign invasion and influence, and from absorbing commercial and other pursuits.' It may also be observed that in dealing with the recent finds in the Sindh and the Punjab and the origins of Indian culture, while he deprecates 'hazarding theories, at this stage,' the author commits himself to a considerable number of propositions (pp. 2-9) on the age, nature and affiliations of what has, for the sake of accuracy, been called the 'Indus Valley Culture', by Sir J. Marshall.

Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

Notes on the Contents of the Gujarati and Hindi Journals

Purātattva, a Gujarati quarterly of research, has just ceased publication after five years of memorable service to the cause of history and scholarship in general under the very capable editorship of Muni Jinvijaya Ji, a scholar who practically without any knowledge of English, is to be numbered among the foremost of our orientalists in India or anywhere else. His work is unfortunately in Gujarati and some of it in Hindi and consequently it has not received the recognition due to it. Jinvijaya Ji left India about a year ago to learn foreign languages and to get acquainted with the methods of European Universities, and with his departure have died two of the foremost research quarterlies in the Gujarati language—*Purātattva* and *Jaina Sāhitya Saṃsodhaka* which would challenge comparison with any of the famous oriental quarterlies. *Purātattva* owes its existence to the national university founded by Mahatma Gandhi, and the contributions to it are mostly from the brilliant galaxy of scholars that Gandhi Ji has collected in the Vidyā Pīṭha at Ahmedabad. One of the greatest among these is Pandit Sukhlal, who lost his eye-sight when he was eleven or twelve years old and possesses only the light of wisdom—*Prajñāchakshu*. He is known to the world of Sanskrit scholars by his great work *Sammata Tarka* of Abhayadeva Sūri, four volumes of which have already been published and the last volume is in the course of publication. Pandit Sukhlal has been trained according to the old methods of scholarship but belongs to the most advanced school of research of the twentieth century in his methods and in the depth of his erudition. He is equally at home in Sanskrit and Prakrit, but as his special subject is philosophy, we shall not deal any further with his contributions to the pages of the *Jaina Sāhitya Saṃsodhaka* or the *Purātattva*.

The last and the fifth volume of the *Purātattva* does not contain many articles of strictly historical interest. Rasiklal Parekh brings his brilliant study of Bhāsa's dramas to a close, Walji Desai has culled

some interesting references regarding Vanarāj—the founder of Pātan from various Sanskrit verses. Pandit Bechar Das announces the discovery of a philosophical work of great importance on atheism from the manuscript-libraries of Patan. The work is entitled *Tattva-Upaṅlava* by Bhaṭṭa Śrī Jayarāshi Deva. We have not got here the space for reviewing the historical contents of the first four volumes of the *Purātattva* which must be deferred to some other time.

The Jaina Sahitaya Samsodhaka has also suffered a premature demise on account of the departure of Muni Jinvijaya Ji to Germany for a period of two years. The Jaina quarterly despite its sectarian designation has rendered valuable service to scholarship in general, and to the study of Jaina history in particular, during its short existence of three years. I have already summarized a very important article by Muni Jinvijaya Ji of the *Kuvalaya-mālā*—a Prākṛt romance written by Udyottama Sūri at Jābalipur on the last day of the Saka year 700 in the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, volume xiv, pages 29–38. This work which is being edited by him is of special interest in mentioning the various contemporaries of the Huna emperor Tormāna, who had his capital at Pavvayyā on the Chenab in the Punjab, and also in showing the extraordinary influence of Jainism in the eighth century, for Tormāna himself is said to have had the Jain Harigupta as his preceptor. This Harigupta is said to have been a scion of the Gupta family and the reference is probably to the imperial dynasty of the same name. The Prākṛt work is of great interest and we hope that it will be soon published.

Jinvijaya Ji has published a Persian composition by Jinaprabha Sūri, a writer of the fourteenth century, whose, works, e.g. *Vividha Tīrthakalpa*, *Vidhīprapā*, *Sandēha-Viṣa-auṣadhī* are still available. The Sūri was a contemporary of Alauddin Khilji, and the composition is of special interest in showing the proselytizing zeal of Jain Sādhus even during the stormy times of Islamic onslaughts. The whole composition consists of eleven verses in praise of Rshabhadeva and is probably the earliest work in Persian by a Jain Sādhu.

There are two interesting articles relating to Vastupāl and Tejapāla—famous brothers, who were responsible for the immortal shrines of Abu. There is plenty of material available for writing a monograph on the two great heroes of Jainism, and we would suggest

to the various Jaina societies who are engaged in spreading the knowledge of their faith and their past to publish a series of monograph on the great figures of Jainism. Rasiklal Pārekh—a competent researcher, critically examines the account given in Rājashekhara Sūri's *Chaturvimshati-prabandha*, in which Vastupāl is said to have sent lacs of mlēchha heads to his master at Dholka. The Muslim king opposed to Vastupāl is Maujudin, which is to be identified with Shāhabuddin Ghorī.

There is another very interesting article on Mahmud Ghazni's invasion of Somanath, also from the pen of Jinvijaya Jī in which he examines an hitherto unpublished work by Dhanapāla, the celebrated author of *Tīlakamanjari*. The work is called *Satyapurīya Śrī Mahāvīra Utsah Parichaya* and deals primarily with and is, as the title indicates, a sort of hymn in the praise of Mahāvīra. It incidentally describes the iconoclastic activities of Mahmud of Ghazni and says in the third verse of the hymn—the whole of which consists of fifteen verses, how Mahmud had erased the temples of Shri Māl, Pātan, Chandrāvātī, Sorāṭha, Delwādā and Someshwara. The invader however is alleged to have turned back baffled before the temple of Mahāvīra at Satyapur or the modern Sāchor in Marwar. Dhanapāla writes from his personal knowledge about the onslaughts of Mahmud, and is of interest as a contemporary corroboration of Muslim accounts of Mahmud's invasions. If Dhanapāl's account is correct, it would seem that Mahmud did not return *via* Kutch and Sindh after his destruction of Somanatha, as is hitherto believed, but he may have gone back through Sāchor and Multan (vol. iii, *Jain SS.*).

I should perhaps also summarize from vol. ii another article also by Jinvijaya Jī on king Chetaka.

Chetaka—the king of Vaiśālī, is famous in Jain history not only as a devout adherent of Mahāvīra Vardhamāra but also a ruler of a powerful kingdom who was related to some of the most important princes of his time. Chetaka's sister Triśālā was the mother of Mahāvīra himself; his daughter Jesthā was married to Mahāvīra's elder brother Nandivardhana, and he was similarly related to Udrāyaṇa of Sindhusauvīra, Pradyota of Avanti, Śātānīka of Kausambi, Dadhivāhana of Champā and Bimbisāra of Magadha, who were all his sons-in-law. Emperor Ajātaśatru—the parricide, and Udayana Vatsarāja—the hero of an untold number of romances in Indian literature, were his

daughters' sons. Considering all this it is extraordinary that Chetaka finds no mention at all in Buddhist literature.

The oldest and the most important account of Chetaka and his relationship to Mahāvīra is contained in *Avashayaka Sūtra*—one of the Jaina *Āgamas*, which is prior to the eighth century, for it has been commented upon by the celebrated Haribhadra. This account forms the basis of subsequent Jaina writings such as in Hemachandra *Trishashtishalaka-purusha-Charitra*. Chetaka had seven daughters—Prabhāvatī, Padmāvatī, Durgāvatī, Shivā, Jyeṣṭhā, Sujyeṣṭhā and Chellānā, who with the exception of Sujyeṣṭhā were married respectively to Udrāyana, Dadhivāhana, Sātānīka, Pradyota, Nandivardhana and Bimbisār. Sujyeṣṭhā had become a Jaina nun at an early age. According to the Jain tradition Chetaka had to fight one of the most destructive battles with his own daughter's son Ajātashatru. Chetaka is described as of Haihaya family. Muni Jinvijaya Ji has brought out some interesting parallels from Jain and Buddhist literatures regarding the story of Udrāyana and his famous *vina*. He comes to the conclusion that the word Raudrāyana occurring in the Vyaodana which in the corrupted text form the word Uddayana the correction given in *Avashayaka Sutra*.

The most important article in vol. ix of *Nagri Prachārīnī Patrika* edited by the well-known scholar Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha—the historian of Rajputana, is undoubtedly the elucidation of the inscription on the victory horse of Samudragupta now in the Lucknow Museum. Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakar reads the inscription, which has hitherto defied the efforts of epigraphists as *Chandragupta-pituh Samuddaguttasat deyadhamma*. After an elaborate argument and an extremely interesting examination of the pictorial script which has been illustrated in two plates, Mr. Jagannath Das comes to the conclusion that the horse was set up by Chandragupta as a memorial stone of his father's martial exploits in the modern district of Kheri which was then of considerable political importance as being the frontier between Nepal and Oudh. Mr. Jagannath Das is also responsible for the articles on Bihari which occupy a considerable space of the volume. Mr. Jagannath Das has devoted a whole lifetime to the study of Bihari and the results have been worthily embodied in the brilliant series of articles which are meant as an introduction to his commentary on *Biharis's Satsai* already published.

No work in the Hindi literature has been so carefully and critically edited as Bihari's *Satsai* and, reflects the greatest credit on the author, who is recognized as the greatest living authority on Braj and the finest exponent of modern Braj poetry. The editor himself contributes an interesting article on the Solanki king—the famous Siddharāj Jaisimha. The reign of Jaisimha deserves a separate monograph, for during his reign the kingdom of Gujarat reached its zenith. The entire period, eleventh century A.D., is of extraordinary importance and is specially remarkable for the galaxy of kings and ministers who were brilliant scholars and represented the ripest fruit of the classical traditions, albeit in their decadence.

Another article by the same scholar discusses the sway of the Pratihār Dynasty of Kanauj over Gujarat. The long article on Dhanurveda is of some antiquarian interest. On the whole the historical side is not so well represented as one would have expected in a journal edited by Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha.

N. C. MEHTA.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

January, 1929—

E. H. JOHNSTON: 'Two studies in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya'. Considers the relationship in date of the *Arthaśāstra* to the works of Aśvaghoṣa, to Āryasūra's *Jatakamālā* and to *Lankāvatārasūtra*.

J. PH. VOGEL: 'Two notes on the Ancient Geography of India', identifies Kamtakaśela mentioned in the Prakrit Inscriptions of Nagārjunikonda with *Καντακοσσούλα* mentioned by Ptolemy immediately after the mouth of the Maisōlos river. It follows that this river is rightly identified with the Kistna.

April, 1929—

G. TUCCY: 'A visit to an "Astronomical" temple in India.' Gives a description of the Navagraha Temple at Gauhātī.

R. B. WHITEHEAD: 'Akbar II as pretender. A Study in Anarchy.'

J. PRZYLUSKI: 'Hippokoura and Satakarni.'

*Indian Antiquary**April, 1929—*

R. D. BANERJI : 'The Empire of Orissa.'

H. DAS : 'The Mission of G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro' to the Court of Aurangzeb (continued in the May issue).

*Journal of the American Oriental Society**March, 1929—*

J. R. WARE : 'Studies in Divyavadana.'

*Rupam**January, 1929—*

O. C. GANGOLY . 'A Jaina relief from South Kensington.'

AJIT GHOSE : 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting.'

NICHOLAS ROERICH : 'Tibetan Art.'

A. K. COOMARASWAMY : 'Nagara Painting.'

MAHFUZ-UL-HAQ : 'Some specimens of Islamic Calligraphy.'

H. PARMENTIER : 'The common origin of Hindu Architecture in India and the Far-East.' Translation of an article from *Etudes Asiatiques*.*Journal of Oriental Research**January-March, 1929—*

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI : 'Ravana Bhasya.'

D. S. SARMA : 'On the sources of *Bhagavad-Gita*.'

P. T. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR . An Autolycus in the camp of Zulfaqr Khan at Jinji (A.D. 1690). This paper is based on a MS., of the Tamil MS. preserved in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras and is a dramatic lay composed for the purpose of eulogizing Sayyad Qadir.

T. R. CHINTAMANI : 'The date of Sankara Charya and of his predecessors.' Furnishes some data that Sankara was a contemporary of Narasimha Varman II and therefore lived in the latter half of the seventh century A.D.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI : 'Probable identification of King Haravarsha.'

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS

M. RAGAVA AIYANGAR: 'Tirumangai Ālvar and Chalukya Vikramaditya I: identifies the mighty king of the north vanquished with the Pandyan King by the warriors of Nankūr' (P. T. 4, 5, 6), with Chalukya Vikramaditya I. The writer thinks that the Ālvar who lived during the reign of Pallavamalla (A.D. 717-779) should have had an opportunity to hear from the soldiers who took part in vanquishing the King of the North and who lived in Nankūr a village near his native place, all about the battle of Peruvalanallur.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

April, 1929—

- R. RAMA RAO: 'Some problems of identity in early Vijayanagar History.'
- R. S. VAIDYANATHA AIYAR: 'The Sumero-Dravidian and the Hittite-Aryan Origins.'

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.

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24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gackwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736—1761)

By

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

VI

I EVENTS AT PONDICHERRY TILL THE ARRIVAL OF BOUVET'S SQUADRON

MUTYALU Nayakan, the English *Vakil* who had gone on a mission to Nasir Jang's camp, returned, as already noted, with *parwanas*, from the Nizam to Nawab Anwar-ud-din and all the *poligars*, enjoining them to assist the English as against the French, together with one to Dupleix ordering him to abstain from further hostilities. The attempts planned to seize him on his way from Arcot to Fort St. David, came to nothing. Dupleix and the Diarist made much of the fact that Mutyalu Nayakan had spent more than a lakh of pagodas for no substantial return and the English Governor, Mr. Floyer, was greatly displeased with him and would not receive for some days the presents which had at first been left outside the town. The Diarist, having heard rumours about the arrival of some Maratha horse and about a panic having been produced consequently at Arcot and in its neighbourhood, thought that the people at Arcot would be busy defending themselves and thus the French could settle everything about Fort St. David in spite of the Nizam's *parwana* to Arcot. He made this suggestion to the Governor, adding

his own belief that, astrologically, the English fortunes would go down to their lowest in the middle of April. But paddy continued to be scarce and dear at Pondicherry; and possibly there was 'also a scarcity of silver there, owing to the delayed arrival of Europe ships and the stoppage of French traffic to Manilla and the Red Sea', while the rate of exchange at Fort St. David was much higher. Even the pagodas current at Pondicherry had been for some years debased, being lower than the 8-touch normal standard¹.

A few horses with a camel and some bullocks and a standard were captured by a party of French horsemen and sepoys from the camp of the Rajput and Maratha horse who came with Mutyalu Nayakan on April 8. Dupleix got greatly elated in spirit, declared that evil times had begun for Fort St David and that he would surely take that place with the help of even two ships. Meanwhile news was received from Europe that France had declared war on Holland, that the French King was greatly elated at La Bourdonnais' capture of Madras—Dupleix's complaints against him not having reached Paris by that time—and that all believed that by this time the French flag would be floating triumphantly at Fort St. David, Anjengo, Tellicherry and Vizagapatam. Dupleix was eagerly expecting St. George's squadron which comprised three men-of-war and had left for the east in the beginning of 1747.² Shaikh Ahmad Sahib's letter to Pondicherry from Porto Novo, given by the Diarist under date May 22, tells us of a rumour that French ships had appeared off

¹ 'About 1740, all the European settlements had been greatly troubled by the debasement of pagodas struck in the country mints. Pagodas of 8-touch (1 ϵ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ fine) had been the normal currency, but mints such as Alambaram, issued coins of 7 and 6-touch. As a consequence of this debasement, the English coined the *star pagoda*. The French also attempted measures of reform, such as prohibiting the introduction into Pondicherry of pagodas under 8-touch. Though this was not successful, bargains were still made in such coins and settled in other specie at the current ratio' Dodwell. Note. 2—on p. 6 of the *Diary*, vol. v. Silver seems to have been the alloy usually mixed with gold.

² This squadron was first dispersed by a storm, sailed again in May 1747 from the Isle d'Aix, and in the same month was destroyed by the English admiral, Lord Anson, off Cape Ortegal, along with the escort of La Jonquiere. 'Three ships however had disappeared in the storm, and these reached the French Islands in October 1747. Other vessels were lying there more or less ready for service. With these a squadron of seven sail was formed, under the command of Bouvet, to carry much-needed supplies of money to Pondicherry. His instructions expressly stated that this was the principal object of his mission' (Dodwell—*Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 23–24.)

Batavia and that English and Austrian ships were coming to their help. Dupleix commented on this, saying that the Dutch were so alarmed at what had happened in Europe as to betray their own weakness, while extraordinary precautions were taken at Negapatam where there were constant rumours of an imminent attack by French ships.¹ Dupleix was of the opinion that perhaps the French Government might have issued orders to capture the rich towns of Batavia, Colombo, *etc.*, that the French ships at Mascareigne should have been asked not to sail for Pondicherry before the arrival of the squadron from Europe, and the ships must have gone from that place to the Archipelago to intercept the four English ships that were being expected from China and to attack Batavia. Dupleix had not got any news either from Europe or from Mascareigne; and the frigate that came with European news was captured by the English and taken to Fort St. David; and the letters found in it must have mentioned the capture of Madras, what was to be done with it and the despatch of many ships;—‘for it was only after this that the Governor of Negapatam began to pull down houses and so forth, and prepare for war.’

Meanwhile Dupleix received some presents that Nasir Jang sent him along with a letter which assured him that the latter received Mutyalu Nayakan, the English *vakil*, with but ill-favour and that he had always admired the greatness of Dupleix’s valour. Moreover news reached Pondicherry that Anwar-ud-din was not on good terms with his eldest son, Mahfuz Khan, that Fatteh Singh and Raghuji Bhonsle had assembled their troops at Ākulakotta for a march on the Carnatic and that Chanda Sahib had taken leave of the Marathas. Above all information was received as to the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah at Delhi on April 28 and of Nizam-ul-Mulk some weeks later. When Nizam-ul-Mulk died, his younger son, Nasir Jang, was with him; and

¹ ‘Velipālayam, on the outskirts of Negapatam, has been pulled down and all the houses near the fort have been razed to the ground. All the cannon in the batteries at Velipālayam have been carried into the Fort. The merchants of the town and the rich men from Trichinopoly and Tanjore who went thither to make money are alarmed and have fled to Jaffna, Udaiyārpālayam and Ariyalur. They would fear to touch even a crow from Pondicherry or Karikal’—Diarist’s remarks to Dupleix, but he put down his own private reflection, ‘I reflected that the confusion of our affairs was only concealed from the world by the glory we have been lucky enough to win, otherwise it would have been evident to all.’—pp. 29 and 30 of the *Diary*, vol. v.

the news of his death¹ caused great grief both to Nawab Anwar-ud-din and his son Mahfuz Khan.

II. THE LAST FRENCH ATTACK ON CUDDALORE

Dupleix was so anxious about the rumoured approach of the English fleet that he paid but scant attention to this serious news about the country powers. He believed that the English had heard from Negapatam of the arrival of French ships in its vicinity and that was the reason for Commodore Griffin taking on board his ships all available men and supplies and making himself ready for action, the Commodore sighted on June 21, Bouvet's ships off Fort St. David and the same night prepared to engage them. The entry of the Diarist for June 22 states that the English ships were lying off Pondicherry in the hope of encountering the French fleet which was expected to arrive in a day or two. On the next day the ten ships of Griffin were not found in the roads, having sailed the previous midnight northward, while a sloop had sailed for Fort St. David and only a ship which used to lie in the Pondicherry roads was still there.

Dupleix sent some European horse and sepoys to Madras, being still uncertain as to the aim of the English move or the exact location of the French fleet. The Diarist however shrewdly suggested that it must have been the French ships that were sighted off Fort St. David on the 20th and caused great confusion in Cuddalore and made the people there remove their money and valuables to Porto Novo and

¹ Varying dates are given for the death of the Nizam. Grant-Duff dates it as having occurred on June 19, 1748. The *Country Correspondence* of the English gives it as May 21, June 1, as quoted by Dodwell. Burgess states (p. 188 of his *Chronology of India*) thus; 'June, Jumada II, Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk dies.' The death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the astrological details of which are given by the Diarist, can be dated on this basis for April 17-28, but there is a day's difference according to another reckoning which puts it down as April 27, Rabi II, 27, H. 1161. The date given in Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (revised by Keene, 1894) for the Nizam's death, is 22nd May, 1748 (old style) 4th Jumada II. A. H. 1161, i.e., 37 days after the death of Muhammad Shah. This date is confirmed by a letter of Imam Sahib to Pondicherry quoted by the Diarist in his entry for July 7, 1748. The news of the Nizam's death reached Arcot only sixteen days after its happening, which was fixed by the Diarist for June 2. A rumour was prevalent that the Nizam took poison and died as he heard that his eldest son Ghazi ud-din Khan was ordered to be executed by the Emperor. Anwar-ud-din was in fear of an attack by Murtaza Ali of Vellore and there was confusion in Arcot (p. 75, of vol. v of the Diary.)

other places; but the French ships which carried the much-needed supplies of money 'could not land their silver here and had therefore gone to Madras' and would soon send news after unloading. This surmise proved correct, as soon news arrived on the noon of June 23, that eight ships and two sloops dropped anchor at Madras the previous day.¹

Dupleix severely commented on the inaction of Commodore Griffin, who should have pursued the French ships till he had caught them up and given them battle. 'But he waited till they were out of sight and then sailed in shore, lay to the south of our roads and only sailed slowly off the next day. You will see him flying before our ships when they return. . . . I will send the troops that are now ready, or I will go myself, against Fort St David in five or six days and cause great confusion there.'² Bussy told the Diarist that a new

¹ The whole of the incident, if it may be called one, is as follows —When the French squadron under Bouvet made for the coast, his first concern was to reconnoitre the English squadron. 'On June 21 he sent a fast-sailing boat ahead which reported that ten men-of-war and several merchantmen were lying in the St David's roads. He himself approached within about a league to survey the enemy, but after consulting his senior captain, resolved to sail for Madras, and there land the treasure and men he was bringing instead of running the risk of an action. This he accomplished (at Madras) on the 22nd, and then hastily quitted the coast. Dupleix complained of this abrupt departure. Had Bouvet only put into Karikal, he declared, he would have learnt that Griffin had only four ships ready to sail, and, by attacking, could have made an end of the English squadron' (Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p 24). Dupleix repeatedly asked the Diarist why the French ships should go to Madras, when there was Karikal to the south, where they would have been safe (Diarist's entry for the 23rd) and would not be satisfied with Ranga Pillai's explanations —'But whatever Dupleix thought about it, Bouvet would undoubtedly have been bringing his mission into the most serious peril had he ventured on attacking Griffin, who was not so unprepared as Dupleix stated (in his letter to the French Company, dated January 15, 1749). . . but apart from these (two rudderless ships) the English squadron comprised six line-of-battle ships with a frigate and two of the Company's ships. Nor were the English taken by surprise. About nine o'clock on the evening of the 20th an English scout came in with the news that she had sighted a French squadron, and Bouvet did not appear until 2 p. m. on the following day' (Dodwell, p 24).

² His remarks to the Diarist—pp. 62-63 of vol. v.—Griffin's conduct was certainly blameworthy. Examining the Fort St. David Consultations, the Admiralty records concerning Griffin's court-martial, and Griffin's own Journals and Letters, Mr. Dodwell would convict him of hesitation and delay, but would approve of the essential justice of the finding of the court-martial that he was only guilty of an error of judgment in not sailing early. . . . He admits that, if Griffin had sailed immediately after he boarded (i.e. in the early morning of the 21st) he could probably have brought the French to action that day, but he quietly remained at anchor until the enemy was in sight from the masthead, and

squadron under M. le Chevalier d'Albert was being sent out to India and that Bouvet had seized a Dutch vessel laden with powder and shot and carried it to Madras. Every one was encouraged by the news of the departure of the new squadron from Europe and of the landing of 500 soldiers by Bouvet at Madras, while Dupleix should have been particularly gratified by the news of the ordering of La Bourdonnais' imprisonment and of the seizure of all who helped him. The Governor even confiscated the papers of one or two Frenchmen and arrested another for alleged complicity in La Bourdonnais' misdeeds at Madras. He got all the sepoys and the European and Muhammadan horsemen in Pondicherry ready for an attack on Fort St David,¹ as the French ships from Madras had arrived, and, more than that, Griffin's squadron had sailed north leaving the English settlement uncovered.

A detachment was sent to attack Cuddalore on June 27 which did not assault the place either that night or even the next day. The French troops numbered 2,000 men according to the Fort St. David Consultations; and of them 900 were Europeans. Major Lawrence who commanded the English forces gave out a report that he was withdrawing his men from the town of Cuddalore into the Fort

the sea breeze had seen from the south. The council of war that he held decided nothing, later, when the French drew near, he contemplated putting out to sea and again consulted his captains, finally he resolved to wait till the wind moderated and only got out to sea at 1 a.m. on June 22. 'The result of all this hesitation and delay was that Bouvet got safely off to Madras, while Griffin was cruising vainly off Pondicherry and was clear of the coast when at last the English sailed north in search of him. Griffin himself felt that his conduct was liable to strictures. . . 'The court-martial found that he should have sailed with the land-wind before the enemy came in sight, and the Admiralty exonerated him from the charge of lack of zeal or courage.

Bouvet also was attacked for not falling upon the English ships riding at anchor in Cuddalore when their crews were ashore and two of their men-of-war were rudderless. 'His principal business was to carry supplies to Dupleix who was so short of money that he was on the point of sending his plate to the mint. The relief he brought materially assisted Dupleix in maintaining his position till the arrival of the news of peace. Bouvet was to all appearances justified in his decision to avoid action.' He had less guns than Griffin who had six men-of-war and two Company's ships, besides the two rudderless ones. Dodwell points out that Bouvet emerges with more credit than his rival.

¹ The Diarist held (entry for the 27th June) that the two objects of the advance on Fort St. David were (1) to secure the arrival of the men landed at Madras by Bouvet, if conveniently managed, and (2) to bring M. Paradis in safety to Pondicherry, by surrounding the English settlement.

and intended to confine himself only to the defence of the latter. But with nightfall he threw a strong garrison into the town and mounted all the guns he could spare, upon its ramparts. The result was that when the French, unconscious of this ruse, carelessly advanced upon the place at night on the 28th, believing that they would not meet with any resistance, they were thrown back with great loss and in utter confusion and had to fly away in all directions. According to the report recorded by the Diarist, about 500 sepoy, fifty Europeans and ten horses were missing, while 'it only the English had known the panic that arose when they fired on us, and if they had sent out but fifty men with swords, every man would have been cut off . . . the soldiers were taken with panic threw away their arms and fled in tens and twenties. For two hours they did not know friend from foe or what way they went. . .'¹

¹ Diarist's entry for Saturday, June 29, 1746 According to him the first report brought to Pondicherry gave false news of French success and of their having scaled the walls of Cuddalore and cut to pieces the Carnatic sepoy there. This news which Madame Dupleix seems to have got, greatly elated the Governor's spirits, and he was highly pleased that Cuddalore should have fallen without a blow owing to his wife's counsel. Soon however contradictory news was brought that the spy who led the French troops pretended to reveal all the secrets of Cuddalore and had really told the English when he would bring the French and cunningly slipped away on arriving at Cuddalore. The French troops threw away their arms and fled to Tiruviti, Panruti, Mettupalayam, Bhuvanagiri and other places, while a friendly poligar of the English, Akkal Nayakkan, waylaid them, seized their cloths and other weapons and left them with hardly a rag to cover them. 'If those within had known there would be such a panic, and if they had only opened the gates and surrounded the French, all would have been cut to pieces . . . The English refrained from marching out for fear of an ambush and only mounted the ramparts and fired from there. The French, losing their way, wandered hither and thither for nearly two hours and fled not knowing whither they went' There was again brought, or pretended to have been brought, news that the French, in revenge for having been beaten off the previous night, scaled the walls of Cuddalore the next morning (i.e. the 29th) got inside and cut to pieces all they could find and the white flag was flying on the upper storey of a Chetti's house. The Governor was inclined to believe even this bluff which was finally given to him only by the report of two soldiers returned from the camp. The Diarist's remark is instructive as illustrating the pernicious influence exercised by Madame Dupleix — 'If anyone but Madame had been managing matters, some one would have been punished for this. Our army's defeat by the spy's treachery, and its headlong flight have tarnished the glory that was formerly won; and if this had happened under any one else's management, surely he would have been hanged—no less punishment would have served.' This set-back to her ambition did not make the Diarist hope that she would give up interfering in public matters again. He thought she cared little for her husband's anger, but was much alarmed lest he should give the management of affairs to some one else.

Dupleix was greatly discomfited by this repulse and, according to the Diarist, attributed the fault to M. de Mainville who was mis-

Malleson is of the opinion that the French should have advanced against Cuddalore as soon as they observed its walls dismantled and that the fault was not Dupleix's, but that of the men in charge. This attack on Cuddalore was defensive in its nature, as he knew that a large English fleet was coming out with the express object of laying siege to Pondicherry and as he wanted to secure Fort St David during the absence of Admiral Griffin and thus deprive the English fleet of any base of operations on the coast.

Mr. Dodwell remarks that Orme has a story (p. 91 of his *History of Indostan*—vol. 1, (1861)) that Major Lawrence wanted to make the French believe that he did not think Cuddalore tenable and so removed the cannon to Fort St David in the day, but restored them and the garrison to Cuddalore, with the necessary secrecy, as soon as night came on. Orme got this from a letter of Clive dated July 19, 1762, and included in Orme MSS—India I, pp. 137-141, summarized in Hill's *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages* in the Library of the India Office—vol. 11, Part 1. The Orme Collection (1916, p. 268)—In this letter Orme gives, among other details, as to how Mr. Floyer and Major Lawrence tricked the French into a useless attack upon Cuddalore. But Mr. Dodwell says that not a gun or man was withdrawn from Cuddalore and the Fort St David Council had given out that they intended to abandon the town, and that it was likely that, had the Fort itself been attacked in strength, the Cuddalore garrison would have been withdrawn.

The French troops did not march directly south from Pondicherry, but kept inland, and on the evening of the day of the attack were close to the southern part of the English bounds, that was why Lawrence reinforced the garrison of Cuddalore by a party of sepoys and went thither in person. The French attempted, shortly after night had fallen, an escalade on the southern side of the town where the wall was low and easily climbed. The English garrison was on the alert and beat back the attackers with great loss. 'The precipitation of their flight prevented the English fire from doing much execution among them.'

According to a letter written and by English Officer, Hyde Parker, to the Secretary at the India House and quoted by Mr. Dodwell from the India Office Miscellaneous Letters Received (1749-50, No. 7), the French began firing near the Porto Novo Gate of Cuddalore, where the English had only two companies of soldiers with about eighty or ninety peons and sepoys. They had not even much of ammunition with them as it had been sent to Fort St David a few days before. . . . 'But what struck terror into the French was, when the firing was hot at the Porto Novo Gate, our people by some mistake (though a lucky one) began firing all round Cuddalore, which put the French into great confusion, imagining we had all our force at Cuddalore.'

Abdul Rahman, the Jamadar of the French sepoys, reported to Dupleix that the French troops followed the spy blindly, some of the Europeans were exhausted and others blinded and that the heavy fire of the enemy scattered them on all sides, and that no one would have escaped from such a trap if but fifty men had opened the gates and attacked them. He added to the Diarist—'Many fights have I seen and heard of, many battles have I fought, but never before have I seen men losing their senses at the sight of the enemy and throwing their arms in such a panic. As for the enemy, never have I seen men lose such a chance, or fear to open their gates for nearly two hours. But they feared us and kept inside. Never have I seen such a thing before.'

informed as to the directions given by the spy regarding the movements of the French ; otherwise he was afraid he would be blamed for having entrusted the management of this affair to his wife. Thus was Dupleix's last chance of capturing Fort St. David foiled. Since the last attack on that settlement had been foiled by the arrival of an English fleet, the aspect of affairs had changed with Griffin's squadron in the Bay, and Bouvet not being able to help him actively. He had heard of the despatch of a strong fleet by the English which was expected to reach the Bay at any time. He had lost the final chance of capturing the English settlement and had henceforth to stand purely on the defensive and began to strengthen as much as possible the fortifications of Pondicherry before the expected enemy should appear. Paradis was got from Karikal to Pondicherry to carry out the additional fortifications with energy and expedition. He was appointed Commissary of the troops and held in high honour and granted the cross of a *Chevalier de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis*.

III. EVENTS PRECEDING THE ARRIVAL OF BOSCAWEN'S FLEET

Meanwhile the restlessness of the Indian powers increased. There arose a rumour reported by the Indian powers that Nasir Jang was alarmed at his father's place having been given to Qamar-ud-din Khan's son,¹ and that Murtaza Ali Khan was preparing to take

M de Mainville and the other officers who took the field told the Diarist that they disliked Dupleix entrusting state affairs to his wife and accused her of trying to make an end of them by treachery (Entry for July 1, pp 91-94 of *Diary*, vol. v.)

¹ (See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, vol. 1, p 263, vol 11, pp 104-5, 138 *et seq*, The *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* (tr ed.) vol 111, pp 276 *et seq*, The *Muslim Review*, vol 11, R D Banerjee's *Article on Mir Shihabuddin—Beale—Burgess, etc*) Qamar-ud-din Khan was the son of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, the son of Mir Baha-ud-din, the younger son of Alam Shaikh, who came to India in 1687 and rose to be the Chief Wazir of the Mughal Empire after the defeat and death of the Sayyad Brothers in the Mughal revolution of 1720. Muhammad Amin Khan died soon after in the early part of 1721, and his son, Qamar-ud-din Khan became chief minister in 1724. He continued in the service for the entire reign of Muhammad Shah, served in the campaign on the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and was killed by a cannon ball during the battle of Sirhind (March, 1748). Qamar-ud-din's eldest son, Intizam-ud-daula, here referred to (described as the second son by Beale) was appointed to the rank of Second Bakshi on the accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shah in 1748 and was made Wazir in 1753, after the dismissal of Nawab Safdar Jang. Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Firoz Jang, the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was the son of Khwaja Abid, the elder son of Alam Shaikh and the elder brother of Mir Baha-ud-din, the father of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin. Muhammad

advantage of the new Nizam's alarm by preparing to seize Arcot; while Chanda Sahib was reported to have reached the northern bank of the Krishna with a large body of Maratha horse. The news that reached Pondicherry was that Chanda Sahib had obtained his release by means of Raja Sahu's wife, from the great Raghuji Bhonsle by promising to pay 2,10,000 rupees and that he had also definitely settled the question of Trichinopoly.¹ It was rumoured that Chanda

Amin Khan Chin was thus first cousin of the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and both he and Nizam-ul-Mulk were the leaders of the Turani revolution against the Sayyad Brothers. Under Muhammad Shah the great Wazirs were for the most part members of the Turani party, and after his death, the Hindustani party gained the upper hand only for a short time when Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang of Oudh was appointed Wazir in 1748.

Qamar-ud-din Khan's son, Intizam-ud-daula, was one of the leaders of the court party against Safdar Jang, the Wazir, along with Ghazi-ud-din II, Firoz Jang, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk who was confirmed in his father's office of Amir-ul-Umara in 1748. Ghazi-ud-din II was caught in the snares of Maratha intrigue and lured to the Deccan in 1751-52 with the hope of wresting its viceroyship from his younger brother, Salabat Jang, but he was poisoned by one of his step-mothers at Aurangabad. Ghazi-ud-din II's son, Mir Shihab-ud-din, afterwards to become so notorious, was confirmed as Amir-ul-Umara after his father's death and created Ghazi-ud-din III, Imad-ul-Mulk. The latter turned against his cousin Intizam-ud-daula and with Maratha help, superseded him in the Wazirship and blinded and subsequently murdered the Emperor Ahmad Shah (June, 1754).

Mun-ul-Mulk, *alias* Mir Mannu, the second son of Qamar-ud-din Khan the Wazir, was appointed governor of Lahore and Multan by Muhammad Shah. He was defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1751, forced to cede the Punjab and Sind to him and was confirmed in these two subahs by the Afghan conqueror and ruled over them till his death in 1754. There was no truth in either of the sons of Qamar-ud-din Khan being appointed to supersede Nazir Jang in the Deccan.

¹ Chanda Sahib is said to have been released by the Marathas much earlier, in 1745, according to Cultrui. Wilks, probably with the authority of Orme, says that Chanda Sahib departed from Satara early in 1748 and proceeded slowly to the south, awaiting the communications of his friends. On the banks of the Krishna his help was solicited both by the Poligar of Chitaldrug and the Rani of Bednore, but owing to the jealousy of a Navayat captain of the Bednore forces, Chanda Sahib took the side of the ruler of Chitaldrug. In the battle that ensued, at Myconda, south of the Tungabhadra, Chanda Sahib's eldest son, Abid Sahib, was slain, and he himself was taken prisoner to Bednore. The Rani of that place was desirous of keeping him a prisoner, but her troops and jamadars marched off under the command of their prisoner. Orme seems to continue the story as he says that he received an invitation from the ruler of Chitaldrug to take command against Bednore. In the ensuing battle he obtained a complete victory for his new ally. 3,000 of the enemy's horse after the defeat offered their service to him, as well as 2,500 troops of his own ally. He was thus the head of nearly 6,000 men when he interfered in the Deccan and Carnatic politics. Dodwell thinks that it is presumably his release from his second captivity that is referred to by the

Sahib would reach the Carnatic in August, and Dupleix declared in joy:—‘I would even sacrifice French blood to procure Chanda Sahib’s return, so great is my goodwill.’ The Diarist also offered his congratulations to Chanda Sahib’s family, on his release and departure.¹

Diarist.—Orme, vol 1, p 121 ; Wilks, vol 1. (1869) pp. 159–60, (see note 1 below) Both Orme and Wilks are held by Dodwell to have been inaccurate.

¹ Chanda Sahib is held by Cultru to have been released in 1745 with out any sort of French intervention. There were some negotiations going on between the Marathas and the Navayat relations of Chanda Sahib in the Carnatic even in 1744. He wrote to Dupleix, according to Cultru, that Balaji Rao’s nephew had paid several lakhs on his behalf to Raghuji Bhonsle and also promised to give suitable presents to the Nizam for securing his countenance for his release and departure, and that Raghuji Bhonsle had given him leave of departure. But Chanda Sahib seems to have continued to remain in Maratha captivity as both the Pondicherry Council and Ranga Pillai bear testimony to the fact of his captivity in 1746 and 47. ‘Perhaps the previous release was only conditional and Chanda Sahib was so sanguine as to write of promises as accomplished facts. Perhaps he only exchanged Raghuji Bhonsle for Balaji Rao as his jailer. In 1749 the Pondicherry Council agreed to lend Chanda Sahib a lakh of rupees, but it had no funds at its disposal then. After the French victory of 1746, Dupleix and Chanda Sahib’s relatives began to concert measures for his liberation. Even then “Dupleix refused to guarantee the payment of his ransom, but offered to act as the Marathas’ agent in its collection, and a few days later he advised Raza Sahib to assemble all the forces of his family and fall upon Anwar-ud-din who was then lying sick at Arcot. He promised to pay the lakh offered in the previous year, as soon as Chanda Sahib reached the Carnatic.”

‘Chanda Sahib wanted to send his eldest son, Abid Sahib, to the Nizam, to treat with him for the Carnatic (Diarist’s entry for the 24th January, 1747), and if the Nizam was unwilling, Balaji Rao would consent to help Chanda Sahib with 30,000 horse and the latter should re-establish Hindu rule in the territories seized in recent years by the Mughals. Thus “the restoration of Trichinopoly to Hindu rule was one of the conditions of Chanda Sahib’s release at the time. If so, it would completely explain Nizam-ul-Mulk’s opposition.” Subsequently, according to the Diarist (entry for July 18, 1747) Dupleix had promised to pay three lakhs of rupees, in the place of the one lakh promised by the Pondicherry Council, one lakh as soon as he should leave Satara, the second lakh when he should reach Cuddappah, and the third when he should reach Arcot.—Presumably, according to Dodwell, Dupleix promised thrice as much as his Council had authorised, and the loan when made was not to pay Chanda Sahib’s ransom, but to pay his troops on the march (Note on p. 125 of the *Diary*, vol. iv.) Chanda Sahib could not march as the Nizam and Nasir Jang were then encamped in his way. The failure of Chanda Sahib to march then was caused partly by the interposition of the Nizam and partly by the failure of Dupleix to furnish the necessary sums—“which was beyond his power at any moment between June 1747 and June 1748.” According to Dodwell, Chanda Sahib did not escape from Maratha custody till the middle of 1748, and the conditions of his release are described in the Diarist’s entry for July 14, 1748 (vol. v, p. 97).

‘There is much here that is obscure. Whence came the funds for the payment of the ransom? Apparently not from the French who were actually

Another rumour that the Diarist heard from the vakil of Ali Naqi Sahib at Arcot, was that the people belonging to the Emperor had stabbed Nasir Jang in an interview with him (which was of course wholly unfounded). Dupleix surmised, as soon as he heard the news, that the people of Arcot would take refuge in Pondicherry and so he would get great sums of money, probably by selling the privilege of admission. Imam Sahib wrote from Nasir Jang's camp at Aurangabad that the dead Nizam had left an enormous quantity of treasure and that a letter of congratulation should be written to the new Nizam ; and in a few days a *parwana* would be sent by Nasir Jang for the grant of the jaghirs of Valudavur and Villianallur, together with an order to Nawab Anwar-ud-din for the surrender of the jaghir villages. Letters were written to Imam Sahib and Nasir Jang requesting a speedy grant of the favour asked for in respect of the proposed jaghir villages. Nawab Anwar-ud-din sent a letter of compliment in which he wrote of his confirmation in the subah of Arcot by Nasir Jang ; a similar letter was sent to the English also. But news continued to report that Murtaza Ali Khan was still collecting troops with a view to attack Arcot from which people were sending property and goods to places of safety (entries for July 10 and 11). Three days later news arrived that Chanda Sahib had crossed the Krishna with 70,000 horse, and Murtaza Ali Khan had made proposals to him, that the

quarrelling with the Nawabs over a loan for their own use. Ranga Pillai mentions diamonds being sent to Chanda Sahib from Trichinopoly, presumably by his wife, but they are spoken of as though not completing the full sum. Again, how was the Trichinopoly question settled? . . . A letter from Chanda Sahib received some two months later, but which seems to refer to this period, says that his affairs had been settled, thanks to Dupleix's message by Jayaram Pandit, Raghoji's Vakil. . . ' News received at the same time as this letter reported Chanda Sahib south of the Krishna with 12,000 horse. Dupleix perhaps hoped that he would move south and drive Boscawen from Pondicherry, and he even asked Raza Sahib to write to his father about it. . . '

Chanda Sahib did not enter the Carnatic till about a year after this time; and his movements are uncertain during the period. It was now that he should have engaged in wars with Bednore, etc., reported by Orme and Wilks, who however differ from one another. Mr. Dodwell surmises that Chanda Sahib joined Muzaffar Jang, Governor of Adoni and Bijapur, very shortly after his release in June 1748 and was employed in raising money for his new master in the Subah of Bijapur, out of which arose the Bednore and other affairs—(*Dupleix and Clive*—pp. 32-7). It was now that he should have been persuading Muzaffar Jang to embark on the plan of first seizing the Carnatic and afterwards the Deccan.

Dupleix's close attachment to Chanda Sahib through all vicissitudes is an idea that must be in the light of these taken in a greatly modified form.

latter should receive Trichinopoly and his son Abid Sahib¹ should get the fort of Gingee and 'the country as it was before it was attached to the Carnatic' and the former should be in possession of Vellore. It was also reported that Chanda Sahib's elder brother, Muhammad Ali Khan, wished to seize the fort of Arni and the Conjeevaram territory, to demolish the Vishnu and Siva temples at the latter place and build mosques in their sites. The Diarist remarked that these plans were like 'a pot made of parched flour.' Dupleix was angry that he should be denied a share in the spoils and was 'as excited and angry as though everything had been settled.' These were only Murtaza Ali Khan's proposals and the Diarist assured the Governor that Chanda Sahib would conquer the whole country of Arcot and Trichinopoly and would win the Nawabship for himself and not be content with the title of a mere Faujdar.²

Rumours quickly followed that Nasir Jang intended to march to Golconda, leaving his own troops as well as his father's at Aurangabad and that he had raised 10,000 more horse; while an Arcot letter informed the Diarist of the possibility of the Emperor Ahmad Shah himself advancing against Golconda and worshipping at the tomb of Aurangzeb, with the object, among others, of securing the immense riches said to have been amassed by the dead Nizam. Murtaza Ali Khan actually began to proceed against Arcot, while Muhammad Ali, Anwar-ud-din Khan's son, was ordered to return from Tinnevely, where he was encamped, to Trichinopoly and to lay up provisions and strengthen the garrisons in Trichinopoly and Madura.

After a few days had passed during which the situation of the English remained unchanged,—except for a reported dispute between the English Governor Floyer and Commodore Griffin, described at length by the Diarist, but regarded by Mr. Dodwell as purely imaginary,—

¹ Wilks says that Abid Sahib accompanied his father from Satara and fell in the battle of Myconda between the Raja of Chitaldrug and the Rani of Bednore. (Vol. 1, pp. 159-60) see note 1 on p. 154.

² The Diarist said 'Murtaza Ali Khan may have made proposals, but when Chanda Sahib arrives, he will show what he thinks and tell him to content himself with his fort. He will first give you your share and only then attend to his own business.' When I spoke thus in these soothing terms, he (the Governor) said 'That is true, it does not matter whether he helps Chanda Sahib or not. We shall help him. Besides, does he need anyone's help? . . . but remind Chanda Sahib's son that he must remember my share, and arrange for me to receive it.'—*Diary*, vol. v, pp. 127-8

Dupleix made a suggestion, very characteristic of his own diplomatic tortuousness, that the Diarist should write to Imam Sahib that the latter should send the French Governor presents as if they came from Nasir Jang and accompany them with a letter of encomium and warm congratulations.¹ Dupleix even helped the Diarist to take from a book (probably Abbe Guyon's *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, published in 1744) the list of the jewels sent by Safdar Ali Khan to Governor Dumas through Mir Ghulam Hussain and further required that Imam Sahib should be urged to obtain and send Nasir Jangas *parwana* for the grant of Villiyannallur and Valudavur.

Again when the English squadron under Boscawen reached Fort St. David with eight ships of the line, and thirteen Company's ships on August 6-7 and when there was some rumour of negotiation between Mahfuz Khan and the English, Dupleix asked the Diarist to write a polite letter to the latter urging him not to help the English.²

¹ 'The Governor said, 'Safdar Ali Khan sent to M. Dumas two cross-hilted daggers and in consequence he was held in high esteem in Europe. Write now to Imam Sahib desiring him to send me similar presents as if they came from Nasir Jang.' I was also ordered to desire Imam Sahib to write a letter as follows: 'As you have overcome your enemies and captured Madras and other towns, meeting everywhere with success, so that you have no rival, as your glory, power and valour shine like the sun, we request you to help the Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan Bahadur and the other Nawabs, should they be troubled by the Marathas or other enemies. Moreover, I have written to Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan of Arcot and the other Nawabs, ordering them to consult with you and act accordingly in all state matters. They will do this. Even the Padshah of these dominions is not so valorous as you. In token of this we send you a dress of honour, jewels and weapons (as written above) such as the Emperor is wont to send his nobles.' I was also to say that, if he wrote such a letter and did the business, all the expenses involved should be repaid him, and I was to add, 'All Europe has read the letters regarding the help which you have rendered and the respect which you showed to me and to the French nation. If you will do me this favour, your name will shine like the sun throughout Europe, Turkey, Ispahan and other places. . . ' (Diarist's entry for August 1, 1748, pp 170-2 of vol. v). Comment on the morality of such a course is superfluous, even taking the standards of contemporary diplomatic ethics.—See Abbe Guyon's *History*—(London, 1757), vol. ii, pp 128-29.

² The letter was to this effect: 'If you (Mahfuz Khan) join them and they march against Pondicherry, the troops at Madras will advance and waste that part of the country with fire, or if you attack Madras, we will lay waste the country from here to Arcot. If you refrain from helping them, we will send you rich presents and make you rejoice' (p. 185 of *Diary*, vol. v). The Diarist naively wrote as a sort of comment that Dupleix proposed this letter because he was exceedingly alarmed and troubled, he said, 'I have seen what hitherto has happened. So long as the enemy is at a distance, a man may easily boast himself a soldier, but when danger is near, he may turn tail.'

Mahfuz Khan was to be impressed with the critical state of Nasir Jang's affairs and with the great difficulties that would arise if the French should oppose him. Subsequently a letter was written to the French *Vakil* at Arcot, of an imaginary victory that the French had gained over the newly arrived English squadron which the latter was to report to the Durbar.

It was to be reported that the English admiral escaped with seven or eight sails to Fort St. David with torn sails and tattered hulls and that, as the English were liars and cowards, they lost half their strength at the outset and the remaining half was nought.¹

Meanwhile the trouble that Pandarī of Vettavalam was giving the Nawab grew acute. He captured Old Gingee and hoisted his flag there, which act enraged Mahfuz Khan very much; he freed the temple of Tirukoilur when it was occupied by one of the Nawab's Amaldars and seized the latter, and the Nawab himself with Mahfuz Khan and other captains had to encamp in the Vettavalam jungles with 2,000 men, in order to cut a way through to his stronghold. The Diarist reported on the 15th of August that the Muhammadans were finding their task very difficult in the jungles and the sound of hot firing was being heard.

There were likewise disturbances in the Trichinopoly country where an attempt was being planned to recover the fort from the hands of the Muhammadans and establish the rule of the son of Kattu Raja (probably the Poligar of Udaiyārpalaiyam who is still locally called the *Kattu Raja*). The Maratha invaders were to be helped by the people of Tanjore and Mysore, the Tondaiman and the Maravan,²

¹ Six Dutch ships joined Boscawen at the Cape and accompanied him to Mauritius, then they sailed for Batavia, and thus Boscawen reached India with six ships less. 'On this foundation Dupleix built up a legend, which he sought to spread far and wide, of a severe British defeat at the French Islands.'—Dodwell, p. 28.

² In September 1743, Trichinopoly was captured by the Nizam's forces, and Murari Rao immediately after this quitted the Carnatic with all his Marathas. Pratap Singh of Tanjore maintained a friendly correspondence with the Peishwas, according to the authority of Grant-Duff. In two letters, one dated June 23, 1744 and the other October 21, 1745, written by Anwar-ud-din Khan to the English Governor, the Nawab speaks of victories gained by his troops over the Raja of Tanjore, the first won by Mahfuz Khan, and the second won by the Nawab himself assisted by his two sons, Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali and by several petty chiefs including the Zamindar of Kalahasti; but these victories did not lead to anything further than the exaction of a bond from the Tanjore Raja for seven

and thus Trichinopoly was to be recovered ; it was to be put under the rule of Kattu Rajā's son ; while Vriddachalam, Srimushnam and other places were to be added to Tanjore, and the territories which were lately conquered from the Muhammadans were to be restored to their former owners.

THE FIRST ACT OF BOSCAWEN

Admiral Boscawen's powerful squadron ¹ reached Fort St. David

lakhs and of arrears of tribute (Venkasami Row *The Tanjore District Manual* (1883), pp 779-80).

Even in the course of the Nizam's siege of Trichinopoly, the Kallars of the Tanjore District made nightly irruptions into the Mughal camp, and according to the Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1743, the Mughals sent in all directions through the Kallar country strong bodies of cavalry that laid everything waste. The Tondaiman of Pudukkottai, Vijaya Raghunatha Raya (1730-69), had, according to the *Tondaiman Vamsāvali*, the honour of a personal interview with the Nizam and got from him a jaghir. In 1745 the Marathas under Murari Rao again invaded the south, but were driven away after some time from the country round Trichinopoly by its Muhammadan garrison. On these occasions the Kallars gave the invaders great trouble and cut off a large number of Maratha cavalry stragglers who strayed into the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura.

From 1744 down to 1748 the Madura country was held by officers appointed by Anwar-ud-din and Muhammad Ali, the latter was personally in charge of the country, apparently subordinate to his father, and the Records of Madura contain two Persian orders actually issued by him. When Muhammad Ali and Mahfuz Khan went north to assist their father in the crisis brought on by the liberation of Chanda Sahib, Madura was left in charge of one Mayana (1748)—Nelson, *The Madura Country, a Manual* (1868), Part III, p 268.

As regards the Maravan mentioned by the Diarist, it must mean the ancient Ramnad country, which about 1730 was divided into five parts, besides which the northern was taken by Tanjore. The Sethupathi of Ramnad who took the major portion was known by the name of *Periya* Maravan (the Elder Marava) and the Raja of Sivaganga was known as the *Chinna* Maravan, and English writers of the eighteenth century always spoke of the Greater or Lesser Marava Poligar countries. The Sethupathi's *Dalavay*, Velliyan Servaikkāran, was a man of great energy and ability and got all real power into his own hands, he was very aggressive and made wars on Tanjore and the southern Poligars, interfered in the Carnatic wars and died about 1760. He is probably the Maravan referred to

¹ 'When the news of the capture of Madras and the flight of Peyton's squadron reached England, the Company hastened to request more effective succour from the Government. As a result six ships of the line, with store ships etc., were ordered to fit, at the same time it was resolved to raise twelve independent companies, half by draughts from the regiments stationed in Ireland, half by recruitment in Scotland, by gentlemen commissioned as captains, on condition of raising companies. The recruitment in Scotland did not prove very successful and the companies had to be completed with rebels, deserters and highwaymen pardoned on condition of enlistment.'—Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 26-27.

on July 26-27, 1748; and the news recorded by the Diarist as to its August 6-7 arrival at Fort St. David on August 4, was probably only the report of its having been sighted farther south and of the news of it sent up express from Karikal. Dupleix was told by his wife that the Nawab had written a letter to the English Governor that he could not interfere in the Anglo-French quarrels, and that he might do with the French as he pleased. This was disbelieved by the Diarist, because the Nawab, even if he was in great difficulties, would not, on account of his pride, have written such a letter,¹ and also because a piece of secret news like this could not leak out so early. But he did not care to reveal his real thoughts and only answered suitably to Dupleix's wishes and sang to his tune. The Diarist wrote that many of the

Boscawen, though junior to Griffin in service, was entrusted with the supreme command of this expedition, and the latter was ordered to leave four men-of-war with him, and with the remainder to escort the East India shipping home. The Company proposed a plan of operations for the expedition, that it should reduce Mauritius, Pondicherry and Chandernagore or any other French settlement and dismantle and demolish whatever it could capture. Boscawen set sail in November 1747, reached Mauritius in July, joined at the Cape by six Dutch ships. There, not finding a suitable landing place, and being ignorant of the strength of the enemy, Boscawen, with the advice of a council of war, resolved to sail straight for the Coromandel Coast, as 'although their force was sufficient to reduce the island, yet the attack and the maintenance of it when taken, would not only retard, but might probably disable the armament from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Mr. Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of his destination.' Consequently the fleet left the Island on June 27, and arrived at Fort St David where Griffin's squadron was. Griffin resigned the command to Boscawen and retired with one ship and two frigates to Trincomali, from whence in January he set sail for England—Orme: vol 1 pp 91-98. The Dutch ships parted company at Mauritius and sailed for Batavia.

The date of Boscawen's arrival at Fort St David is given as August 8, by Boscawen, and as August 6-7 by the Fort St. David Consultations; and as July 29-August 9 by Orme.

Boscawen had exaggerated the French strength in Mauritius. The Dutch ships that accompanied Boscawen, left his squadron, this, as already been remarked, gave rise to the report that the French ships which were in the Mauritius harbour had captured five of the English ships and that the English ships had fled at the mere sighting of them. (See Diary *infra*, pp. 207 and 214). He was further confirmed in this matter by the arrival of a letter from Mahe which informed him of a ship that came there.

¹ The Nawab's letter to Fort St. David was not actually received till August 21; and the Diarist's entry was on August 13. He wrote. 'He (Dupleix) can only believe this news if he believes that the townspeople here know what is in our letters.' And then he added 'As I always used to write, he is the man who, if he heard that a bullock had calved, would merely order the calf to be put in the stall.' The blame he attributes wholly to the influence of Madame Dupleix.

townspeople went away by stealth; and the appearance of the European quarter made him think that 'the Tamils are the more courageous—the alarm of the former at least makes me think so.' He had however a hope that the English fleet would only pretend to attack Pondicherry, but in reality besiege Madras, and that if the French ships should arrive soon, his town would be safe; while Dupleix would only hug to himself fondly the idea that the English had given up all hopes of assistance from the Nawab. When three English ships sailed close in-shore to Pondicherry, Dupleix got alarmed, assembled all the Europeans on the sea-face and had the cannon ready. When he ordered the toll-gate people not to allow anyone to leave the town, it caused great inconvenience and not a little alarm to the Indian inhabitants. On August 20, European and Muhammadan troops and 300 sepoys under Abdul Rahman marched to Ariyānkuppam and Alisapākkam. The next day an English force consisting of the Carnatic people and 200 European troopers came up and attacked the French troops which retreated north of the Chunāmbāru, while the English advanced in great force on the fort of Ariānkuppam; while news also came that a ship and a sloop were sailing to Pondicherry from Fort St. David. On the same day a letter arrived from the French *vakil* Subbayyan who was staying in Mahtuz Khan's camp at Gingee to the effect that Nawab Anwar-ud-din was informed by the English *vakil* at Arcot that the English proposed to march against Pondicherry on August 19, and to capture Madras as well, and it was also requested that the Nawab should render them all assistance according to the *parwana* of Nasir Jang, to which the Nawab was said to have replied that he was unable to help them at present. These things were done without the knowledge of Mahfuz Khan who was inclined towards the French, while Muhammad Ali Khan who was inclined towards the English was still at Trichinopoly.

The next day, August 22, thirteen or fourteen English ships anchored off Virāmpattanam; and thus the number of English ships, great and small, which had arrived near Pondicherry was twenty-two. Both in the morning and in the afternoon the English attacked the French camp, which on three occasions threw back the assaulters. The Diarist was of the opinion that if only the Europeans and the sepoys at Ariyānkuppam had gone to their assistance, they would have driven the English attackers back into Fort St. David. But no

assistance or provision was sent to them; and they retired from Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry across the river to Ariyānkuppam Fort, being pursued by the English who then occupied the Choultry.¹ And the French were in Ariyānkuppam. Eleven valuable days were spent by the English in the operations at Ariyānkuppam, 'in spite of the fact that there was no particular need to capture it at all.' And

¹ Virāmpattanam is a small village about four miles south of Pondicherry to the east of Ariyānkuppam where there was a small fort. The river of Ariyānkuppam ran close to the fort. M. Paradis, who had come from Karikal, had completed the defences of Ariyānkuppam and made it the real outwork of Pondicherry against the English who were entirely unacquainted with the additions that he had made to its strength.

M. Jules Vinson gives (in his *Les Frances dans L'Inde*, p. 169 note) from *La Relation du Siege de Pondicherry* (Brussels, 1766) information regarding this fort

'Le Fort d'Ariancoupam est une espèce de pātē à cinq faces non flanquées construit autrefois pour garantir des incursions des Mores une Aldée ou village qui porte son nom. Il est entouré d'un fossé avec une bernaie à laquelle on avoit joint depuis peu un chemin couvert, avec son glacis, il a au Nord une rivière qui porte son nom à une portée de carabine, à l'est le village touchant au glacis, au sud la rivière de Chounambard à mille toises de distance, et à l'ouest une campagne assez de couverte. M. le Prévôt de la Touche, capitaine, commandoit dans ce Fortin, et avoit sous lui Mm. Law et la Borderie, avec 40 soldats européens et quelques sipays. Il y avoit onze pièces de canon de fer de 8 et 6 livres de balles et quelques mortiers à grenades.'

The English army as it marched out of Fort St. David on August 19 comprised 1,200 soldiers, 800 marines, 750 of the Company's foot, 1,000 seamen who had been taught the manual exercise and 120 Dutch allies from Negapatam, besides some artillery men, thus making in all 4,000 Europeans with about 2,000 native foot. The Pondicherry garrison, all told, consisted of but 1,800 Europeans and Topasses, and 3,000 sepoys. The English enjoyed a certain superiority in numbers, but their engineers were very deficient in practical knowledge and besides wanting in resolution. (*Orme MSS., India*—vol. 1, pp. 111-120—Paper written by Clive in 1762 at Orme's request, in which he remarks on the ignorance of the English officers and soldiers in regard to the art of war, an opinion endorsed by Orme.—p. 268. *Catalogue of the Orme Collection of Manuscripts*, vol. 11, part 1, by S. C. Hill). Malleson says (p. 217) that his account of the fortifications of Pondicherry and of the siege operations was taken from the journal of an English officer present at the siege, reprinted in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1802.

The work from which Vinson quoted says that in the actions of August 22, the French sepoys were wavering under the English attack and would have been cut to pieces but for a body of horse and foot sent forward by La Tour to cover their retreat, and it sets the English losses at 100 sepoys. According to Duplex, writing to the Company, on the English side none but sepoys were engaged in this fight. According to Boscawen the French merely made a show of resistance at an entrenchment they had thrown up and immediately abandoned it on the English advance. (Dodwell, p. 234 of *Diary*, vol. 11, note). Abdul Rahman however is said by the Diarist to have told Duplex that, if he were given 500 sepoys, he would drive the English back into Fort St. David.

five more days were wasted in putting the fort into some sort of defence.

Meanwhile the situation in Pondicherry tended to grow worse. An attack from the ships on the night of the 22nd was feared. The Governor sent his wife and family to the Mission Church near the Diarist's house and covered its roof with a large quantity of wet cotton. Each house was ordered to have a ready supply of at least 30 pots of water; and a large guard was set to watch the town. A suggestion was made by Dupleix that Chanda Sahib's son should be asked to write to the English Governor at Fort St. David that the English should desist from attacking Pondicherry where himself and Nawab Dost Ali Khan's family were living.¹ Dupleix wanted the Diarist to send the poor people to the Muhammadan villages and set fire to the huts. The Indian merchants wanted permission to send away their children; and there was great panic among the Tamils and uneducated Europeans. 'God knows what fear reigns in the town; man can neither measure, nor describe it.' This was on the eve of the English launching the attack on the Ariyankuppam Fort, after bringing up their men and provisions to Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, while the French occupied the whole bank on the northern side of the Ariyānkuppam River, and mounted cannon on the mud batteries near it.

¹ This letter was apparently written, though Chanda Sahib's writer who penned it, declared that the English might reply thus — 'They may reply that we did nothing to the French for capturing Madras when Nawab Dost Ali Khan's son was there, and it is the same now, or else they may tell us to do what we like . . . or again they may say that if we fear, we should leave the town . . . They will believe we have written out of fear.' (p. 232 of the *Diary*, vol. v.)

(To be continued)

Recent Work in Indian Economic History (1905-1928)¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE economic history of India must be described as a new subject of study, and the period indicated in the title covers most of the relevant literature, other than the older sources, and the official publications of the British Governments. The study is still imperfectly organized, and it possesses no journal of its own; while the haphazard methods of publication followed occasionally in India make it practically impossible for any individual to know all that has been done. This article cannot therefore be exhaustive, and I can only apologize to the writers of any important contributions which I may have overlooked. Segregation, too, is incomplete, and reference is necessary to some works which extend beyond the economic field.

GENERAL WORKS.—There is as yet no general text-book of the subject, nor is the time ripe for such an undertaking; the best approach probably lies through the historical notices in the general volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1909). A few attempts² have been made, with varying success, to handle particular topics, or regions, over the entire historical period, but, speaking generally, the sources are so heterogeneous, and require so much preliminary criticism, that for the present this line of work can scarcely be recommended; the necessary spadework must be done by periods. Indian historical scholars are not yet in agreement as to the

¹ In the references JRAS stands for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London), JASB for the Journal (new series) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta), JIH for Journal of Indian History (Madras), and IJE for Indian Journal of Economics (Allahabad)

² R. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, 1912. A. S. Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, 1927. H. C. Trevaskis, *The Land of the Five Rivers*, an economic history of the Punjab from the earliest times . . . , 1928. S. M. Pagar, *The Indian Income-Tax*, IJE, Dec., 1918.

periods appropriate to their study, and consequently the individual is free to choose the dividing-points which suit him best ; in this article I take three main periods, Hindu to c. 1200 A.D., Moslem to c. 1750, and British, but there is necessarily some overlapping, as the process of penetration was in each case gradual.

THE HINDU PERIOD.—The literature of this period¹ is so voluminous and so varied that at first sight it looks as if one ought to be able to learn at least as much of Ancient India as of Ancient Greece or Rome, but there are serious difficulties in the way · there is no formal history or biography, few of the texts are as yet dated with precision, and the practice of recension prevailed so widely that it is often impossible to be sure even of the century to which a particular statement refers. To give one example only. one of the most important texts for the economist is the *Arthashastra*² of Kautilya, a treatise on public administration, which throws much light on agrarian, industrial and commercial topics ; some scholars attribute it with confidence to the fourth century B.C., but others put it five centuries later, and, to the economic historian, five centuries make a difference. Some Indian scholars have of late attempted to reconstruct the social and economic past³ from this literature, but the lack of chronological precision is fatal to historical perspective, and the tendency is to present a static and composite picture of more than a thousand years, rather than the developments which occurred during the period. Probably the most hopeful line of work just now would be a concerted attack on the large, and constantly growing, mass of dated inscriptions dealing with trade, land-tenures, and other relevant topics ; this might conceivably yield in course of time a chronological framework, on which the literary material might be draped, but nothing in this line seems to have been published.

¹ For a condensed account of the literature see A. A. Macdonell, *India's Past*, 1927. It is in no sense an economic book, but is the best available guide to the sources on which the economic historian must rely for this period.

² *Kautilya's Arthashastra*, tr. R. Shamasastry, 1923. The text has an extensive critical and expository literature of its own, which need not be cited here. Another text, the *Sukraniti* (tr. B. K. Sarkar, 1914), has sometimes been taken to present the economic position in the Hindu period, but the extant recension contains matter which is certainly not older than the sixteenth century.

³ P. Basu, *Indo-Aryan Polity*, 1925. J. N. Sammadar, *Economic Conditions of Ancient India*, 1922. S. K. Das, *The Economic History of Ancient India*, 1925.

A few studies of particular topics have to be noted,¹ while, as regards extra-Indian sources, the commercial relations with the West have recently been examined.²

THE MOSLEM PERIOD.—From A.D. 1200 onwards we have the benefit of the precise Islamic chronology, and of an almost continuous series of contemporary chronicles. I have noted no recent work on this period up to 1500 A.D. : with the sixteenth century we come to an epoch of foreign influence, with the Mogul conquerors in the North, and a succession of European nations on the coasts. The extensive literature relating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be conveniently grouped into three sections : the records of the trading companies, contemporary descriptions, and modern studies.

(i) *Records*—Pride of place must be given to the invaluable calendars of the East India Company's records, now in the India Office ; the series runs back into the nineteenth century, and only those which have appeared since 1905 are noted below.³ Along with these may be placed the records, or abstracts of records, relating to the principal centres of the Company's commercial and industrial activities, and to the Indian trade with China.⁴ Taken in the mass, these records are mainly, though not exclusively, economic ; political topics gradually increase in importance, but, almost up to the end of the Moslem period, commerce comes first, and the amount of economic information which has already been made available is very great. The equally important records of the Dutch Company still

¹ R. S. V. Ayyar, *Manu's Land and Trade Laws*, 1927. J. N. C. Ganguli, *Principles of Hindu Taxation*, Ind Hist. Quarterly, 1925. Bal Krishna, *Beginnings of the Silk Industry*, JIH, April, 1925, *Economics in Ancient India*, IJE, Nov., 1919, *The Hindu Taxation System*, IJE, July and Oct. 1927, P. C. Basu, *The Earliest Agricultural Organization in India*, IJE., Nov., 1919. L. K. Hyder, *Early Commerce of India*, IJE, Oct., 1923.

² H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, 1916, 1926. G. Banerjee, *India as known to the Ancient World*, 1921. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, 1928.

³ W. Foster, *The English Factories in India* (1618-1669), thirteen volumes, 1906-1927, and *India Office Records, Supplementary Calendar* (1600-1640), 1928. E. B. Sainsbury and W. Foster, *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the E. I. Co.* (1640-1667), 1909-1925.

⁴ Bengal. C. Rivers Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, 1895-1917 ; and *Old Fort William in Bengal*, 1906. Madras H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1913 ; *Records of Fort St. George*, 88 vols. (1679-1742), from 1915, continuing. China H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the E. I. Co. Trading to China* (1635-1834), 1926.

remain for the most part unpublished; the only series known to me is that of the Malabar records,¹ issued by the Government of Madras, into the possession of which they have passed. Mention must be made, however, of the *Batavia Journal*,² which has been printed *in extenso* up to the year 1681, many of the volumes of this official record contain full abstracts of the commercial letters received from India, and, apart from the concrete information supplied, they are of special value in showing the position held by India in the trade of the Eastern Seas from the Cape to China. Some selections from the records of the French Company have been published³ by the French India Historical Society of Pondicherry.

(ii) *Contemporary Descriptions*.—Much of the most useful recent work has consisted in bringing within the reach of students descriptions which had either remained unpublished or were so rare as to be practically inaccessible in India. The Glasgow reprint (1907) of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, for instance, made it possible for Indian libraries to possess a primary source, which had previously been practically unknown throughout the country, and the subjoined list⁴ of individual descriptions, arranged approximately in chronological order, will serve to give an idea of the mass of raw material which has come within the reach of students with, usually, adequate explanatory

¹ *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records*, 15 vols., 1908–10.

² *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, 1896–1918.

³ *Procès verbaux des délibérations du Conseil supérieur (1701–1793)*, 1913–15 *Correspondence du Cons. sup. avec Chandernagor (1728–1747)*, 1915–16 *Correspondence du Cons. sup. et de la Compagnie (1726–1740)*, 1920

⁴ Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of (1518)*, tr. M. L. Dames (Hakluyt Soc.), 1918–21. The Emperor Babur (d. 1530), *The Baburnāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, 1921. Garcia da Orta (c. 1560), *Colloques on the Simples and Drugs of India*, tr. Sir C. Markham, 1913. J. H. Linschoten (1592), *Itinerario*, ed. H. Kern (Linschoten Soc.), 1910. *Early Travels in India (1583–1619)*, ed. Sir W. Foster, 1921. John Jourdain, *Journal of Voyage to the East Indies (1608–17)*, ed. W. Foster (Hakluyt Soc.), 1905. Sir Thos. Roe, *The Embassy of (1615–19)*, ed. Sir W. Foster, 1926. Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie of (1626)*, tr. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, as *Jahangir's India*, 1925. Peter Mundy, *The Travels of (1608–1667)*, vols. II, III, ed. Sir R. C. Temple (Hakluyt Soc.), 1914–19. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India (1640–1667)*, tr. V. Ball, ed. W. Crooke, 1925. François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (1656–68)*, ed. V. A. Smith, 1914. John Marshall, *Notes and Observations in Bengal (1668–72)*, ed. S. A. Khan, 1927. Nicolao Manucci, *Storia di Mogor (1653–1708)*, tr. W. Irvine, 1907. Streyneham Master, *The Diaries of (1675–80)*, ed. Sir R. Temple, 1911. John Fryer, *A New Account of E. India and Persia (1672–81)*, ed. W. Crooke (Hakluyt Soc.), 1909–15.

matter. These descriptions are, of course, not purely economic; the list gives those which, in my judgment, contain a substantial amount of economic matter indispensable to the student of the period.

Some aids to the terminology of this period must be noted, because the Dutch and English learned the commercial language of the East through Portuguese interpreters, and a certain amount of distortion was inevitable in the double transference, so that the numerous obsolete terms cannot be interpreted etymologically. The classical glossary, *Hobson-Jobson*, is weak on the commercial side, and, by students who read Portuguese, can be supplemented with advantage by Dalgado's valuable work,¹ while the nomenclature of cotton-goods, the most important, and most complex, commercial topic of the period, is elucidated in two papers noted below.²

(iii) *Modern Studies*.—The output of sources, which has been sketched above, has been accompanied by a substantial amount of interpretation. I have attempted a preliminary general survey of the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century,³ the remaining titles to be noted deal with particular topics. The establishment of Dutch commerce in India has been related by Dr. Terpstra⁴ in a way to whet the appetite for many more studies based, like his, on the records at The Hague. A group of books and articles⁵ deal specifically with Anglo-Indian commerce; but they require to be supplemented by similar studies of the trade with Holland, France and other countries before the commercial position of India can be grasped in its entirety. Sarkar has brought together facts relating to

¹ S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 1919-21.

² W. H. Moreland, *Export of Cotton Goods in the Seventeenth Century*, IJE, Jan., 1925. M. J. Bremner, *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort*, JRAS (Malayan branch), Aug., 1927 (The notes, by C. O. Blagden, deal in detail with Indian cotton-goods).

³ W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, 1920, and *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 1923.

⁴ H. Terpstra, *De Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel*, 1911, and *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de O. I. Compagnie*, 1918.

⁵ C. J. Hamilton, *The Trade Relations between England and India*, 1919 (extends over part of the British period also). S. A. Khan, *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, 1923, also *The East India Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, and *Documents on the East India Trade*, in JIH, Nov., 1921. P. J. Thomas, *Mercantilism and the East India Trade*, 1926. Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England (1601-1757)*, 1924.

inland transport for the entire period.¹ As yet there is no modern study of the agrarian system as a whole, but particular aspects of it have been dealt with in the papers noted below.²

BRITISH PERIOD.—One of the greatest needs at the moment is re-examination of the facts of the transition from Indian to British rule, especially in Bengal; the acute political controversies which arose out of this transition dealt largely with economic topics, and the 'venom of Burke' has not yet been expelled from the body historical. Professor Dodwell and Dr. Sinha have recently done useful work³ in this direction, particularly in the history of the currency. The agrarian transition also has received a good deal of attention, it may be well to explain, with regard to the subjoined titles,⁴ that in the jargon of the country the terms 'revenue' and 'settlement' have become highly specialized, and cover most of the topics usually described as agrarian. For the period as a whole we have to record Professor Knowles's text-book,⁵ Sir Theodore Morison's two volumes,⁶ and some studies of particular subjects, mainly financial,⁷ or

¹ B K Sarkar, *Inland Transport and Communications*, 1925

² H. H. Mann, *A Deccan Village under the Peshwas*, IJE, Oct., 1923 J J Modi, *A Farmān of Emperor Jahangir*, 1921 W H Moreland in JRAS *Akbar's Land-Revenue System* (with A Yusuf Ali), Jan., 1918, *The Value of Money at the Court of Akbar*, July, 1918, *Development of the Land-Revenue System of the Mogul Empire*, Jan., 1923, *Akbar's Land-Revenue Arrangements in Bengal*, Jan., 1926 *Sher Shah's Revenue System*, July, 1926 J Sarkar, *The Revenue Regulations of Aurangzeb*, JASB, II, 255, *Studies in Mughal India*, 1919

³ H. Dodwell, *Substitution of Silver for Gold in South India*, IJE, Jan., 1921 J C Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, 1927

⁴ F. D. Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal*, 1917 W K Firminger, *The Fifth Report of the Select Committee*, 1917 R B Ramsbotham, *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, 1926, *The Kanungo*, JIH, Sept., 1924, and *Suggestions for Stabilizing the Settlement in Bengal*, JIH, Sept., 1925, K. C. Chaudhri, *History and Economics of the Land System in Bengal*, 1928.

⁵ L C A Knowles, *The Economic Development of the Overseas Empire*, 1924 (section on British India).

⁶ T. Morison, *The Industrial Organization of an Indian Province*, 1906, and *The Economic Transition in India*, 1911

⁷ H. Sinha, *Early European Banking in India*, 1927. B R Ambedkar *The Problem of the Rupee*, 1923, and *The Evolution of Provincial Finance*, 1925, K T. Shah, *Trade, Tariffs, and Transport in India*, 1923, and *Sixty Years of Indian Finance*, 1921, 1927. C. N. Vakil, *Financial Development of Modern India*, 1925. D. A. Barker, *The Indian Customs*, IJE, Sept., 1916. P. N. Banerjee, *Deficits and Surpluses in the Accounts of the E. I. Co.*, IJE, July, 1927. C N Vakil and S. K. Muranjan, *Currency and Prices in India*, 1927. R. D. Das Gupta *Paper Currency in India*, 1927.

industrial,¹ though various other topics also have received attention.²

If would give a materially false picture of the literature of this period if no mention were made of the mass of official statistics and reports which have been issued from the Government Presses at the various provincial capitals. Space forbids even the most summary enumeration of these, but, taken in the aggregate, they form an almost unequalled body of material for the economic history of the nineteenth century, and one as yet almost entirely unexploited, except in political controversies. Most of them deal with short periods, five years or less, so that they have to be read in series for historical purposes, but the 'Settlement Reports,' which record assessment of the land revenue, commonly review the agrarian history of a large region for a period of twenty or thirty years.

CONCLUSION.—Such is a very bald enumeration of the literature which has come to my notice. I have apologized at the outset for the inevitable accidental omissions; and I may conclude by indicating the omissions which are intentional. It has seemed best to exclude the technical literature relating to the evaluation of coins, weights, and measures, the interpretation of inscriptions, and similar matters; the results of such work are often of vital importance to the economic historian, but he can scarcely hope to follow it in detail, and he looks forward to the time when some benevolent group of antiquaries will furnish him with an authoritative handbook of results. Further, I have excluded publications which seem to me to be definitely tendentious. The Indian renaissance, which we are privileged to witness, has naturally a political side, and a substantial amount of literature has appeared in which facts, and occasionally fictions, drawn from economic history, or legend, have been selected, and sometimes

¹ Sir A. Chatterton, *Industrial Evolution in India*, 1912 D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times*, 1924 J. C. Kidd, *History of Indian Factory Legislation*, 1920 P. P. Pillai, *The Indian Cotton Mill Industry, 1853-1922*, IJE, Oct., 1924

² A. Loveday, *The History and Economics of Indian Famines*, 1914. Sir G. Clarke, *The Post Office of India and its Story*, 1921 E. P. Stebbing, *The Forests of India*, 1922-26. D. A. Barker, *Railway Policy in India*, IJE, Dec., 1916 H. R. Perrott, *The Rupee and Indian Prices*, JASB, vi., 109. W. H. Myles, *Sixty Years of Panjab Food Prices*, IJE, July, 1925, and Brij Narain, *Eighty Years of Panjab Food Prices*, IJE, April, 1926 V. D. Dantazagi, *The Permanent Settlement in the Upper Province*, JIH, Feb., 1922.

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distorted, so as to support preconceived views ; I have discarded this literature *en masse*. Lastly, I have not attempted to enumerate the economic chapters or sections (of varying value), which it is the fashion to insert in books dealing with the general history of the country. With these exceptions, I have aimed at completeness, so far as the sources of my information permit.

W. H. MORELAND.

POSTSCRIPT FOR THE *Journal of Indian History*.

Exigencies of printing prevented the inclusion in this article of titles appearing during the last quarter of 1928. The most interesting event of the quarter was the resumption, after ten years of the issue of the Batavia *Dagh Register* ; the volume for January-June, 1682, was published in December, and the continuance of the enterprise seems to be assured.

W. H. M.

Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri

BY

THAKUR RAM SINGH, M.A., LL.B

RUBRIC II

AKBAR'S going on foot, in pilgrimage, to the grand mausoleum of the great Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti and laying the foundation of the city of Fatehpur with other events.

As the bud of hope blew out from the rose tree of wished for desire and as the beloved aim became manifested in existence from the secret storehouse of Eternity, Emperor Akbar, in order to pay back the fee of gratitude, determined, at Akbarabad to start for Ajmer on foot, to make a pilgrimage to the grand mausoleum of Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti (May God preserve his secret of sanctity), on the 12th day of the month of Shaban of the year of the Birth. The travelling stages were fixed at 12 Kiroh (24 miles) distance and on the 17th day had the opportunity of getting the felicity of reaching at the illuminated and eminent mausoleum and placed his forehead of purity of faith on that threshold, which was fit for the worship of angels and fulfilled the customs of pilgrimage and the requisites of adoration and was engaged in giving charities and beneficences and the fields of hopes of the people, connected with the threshold of the holy mausoleum, were completely watered with the raining clouds of Kindness.

Now, briefly, some of the actions of the holy Khwaja in dealing with the unbelievers and his virtuous qualities are entrusted to the pen for bringing them in writing. His birth place is Seistan and as such he is styled as Sajri, which is hybrid for Sikri. When the Khwaja was in his fifteenth year, his pious father, who bore the name of Khwaja Hassan, had gone away to the sacred world (died).

By the blessings of the far-seeing vision of Sheikh Ibrahim Majzub of Qandoz, the Khwaja acquired the demand for real learning and after leaving all worldly concerns, he went to Samarkand and Bukhara and

spent sometime in learning the ordinary branches of knowledge and thence he went to Khurasan and in this land he grew up. And in Haron which forms part of the possessions of Naishapur, the Khwaja entered the virtuous company of Sheikh Usman Harooni and placed his hand full of faith, in the lap of felicity as a religious disciple, and practised austerities for twenty years in the Sheikh's ennobling company. At the suggestions of the Sheikh, the Khwaja, having travelled in far off places, did faithful devotions to such saintlike personage as Najam-ud-din the Great and to other Great religious preceptors and recognized saints and through his own inborn intellect, threw the lasso of demand in the battlement of success. The discipleship of the Khwaja to the Sheikh Modu Chishti reaches through two connecting links and through eight connecting links reaches the discipleship to Ibrahim Adham. Before the advent of Sultan Moizuddin Sam, in the reign of Rai Bhitara (Pithora), the Khwaja with the permission of his spiritual preceptor, came to India and took his abode in Ajmer. Khwaja Qutbuddin Awaisi Indjani had become disciple of the Khwaja Moin-ud-din in the month of Rajab of 522 Hijra at the mosque of Imam-ul-wallait of Samarkand situated in Baghdad, in the presence of Shabuddin Soharwardy and Sheikh Ohibuddin of Kirman. And Sheikh Fareed Shakur Ganj (Store of Sugar), who is resting in the land of the Panjab, is the disciple of Khwaja Qutbuddin. And Sheikh Nizamuddin Olia, the spiritual preceptor of Amir Khusroo, became the disciple of Fareed. The concatenation of the Chistia school terminated with the Khwaja.

In short at an auspicious time, the reins of attention of Akbar were turned towards Delhi, the capital of the country, for the visit of thanksgiving for this high gift of the Birth, to the various sepulchres of the high saints and the great divines, who were having rest in that city of miracles. After finishing the stages and the cutting down of difficulties, the escort of the horses in attendance on the good fortune (Numeu) graced that abode of felicity, in the month of Ramzan of the same year. Usages prevalent for the sepulchres from which shone forth light of benefit and the circumambulation of the shrine of His Majesty Emperor Zahiruddin Humayun of the Paradise abode (May God illumine his reasoning) were performed. At that time the departure of the Emperor towards the real seat of the Empire was commenced and on the 6th of Ziqad the Good fortune (numen)

appeared at Akbarabad, the capital. As the benefit bestowing Birth of Jehangir occurred at Sikri, the Emperor Akbar held that village as very auspicious and in that place laid the foundation for the establishment, and in the middle of the month of Rabi-ul-awal of the year 977 Hijra the world obeying order was passed for planning forts and constructing heart-pleasing buildings. And all the great nobles and all the attendants holding the stirrup of attendance in proper rank and condition of their own, accompanied in the stages and in a short interval a grand city, well arranged, rose in appearance, and mosques, schools, buildings for charitable purposes, shops and markets were constructed with perfect elegance and all these were made and completed in red stone. And various gardens, like those of paradise, became the cause of vision and freshness to that resort of pleasure and made the site of the resort (Fatehpur) city of victory, famous. And after the coming down of His Majesty in that city of good fortune, the auguries of blessed result were evident from the name of the city for great victories in those times of happy symptoms of the great Emperor who wore the cloak of Justice and of all qualities. And in this very year of blessed auguries, the Emperor Akbar celebrated Prince Jahangir's birthday festivities, which opened the gates of happiness to the people of the time

On Thursday the 25th of the month of Jamadiul-Akhur Qudsī, this gem of high value was made to go in, for the commencement of the Quran. And as the excellent age reached four years four months and four days, then according to the law of the ancient wisemen and according to the institutes of the decipherers of the heavenly mysteries, the auspicious and generous moment being fixed that is on Wednesday, the 22nd of the month of Rajab, 981 Hijra, the manifestation of the heavenly graciousness performed the ceremony of commencing the alphabet (as in a regular school). And arranged for great heart drawing festivities and the public scattered the cash of their desire in the lap of their hopes. And the education of that mystery reader of the worlds of spirit and material bodies, was entrusted for the perfection of the race of learning and greatness, to that occupier of the chair of dispensing benefit and learning the Maulana Kamal-uddin of Herat, who had the adornment of the control of passions, culture and manners. And Qutab-uddin Khan Ankah was given the robe for the post of the guardian of that approved one of the

religious and worldly affairs. And as he was nominated for guarding the frontier, Mirza Jan, Khan Khanan, was regarded fit for the guardianship.

In 985 Hijra the command of Ten Thousand Horse was bestowed personally on Prince Jahangir. And from the tongue, which was scattering pearls, it passed that the entire heavenly host was attentive towards increasing the spirit of subordination, good conduct, carefulness, patience of that new plant of the Empire.

As the blessed age reached the fifteenth year, the angelic daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das, who was one of the grand nobles of this everlasting Empire and was amongst eminent Rajahs and was held in great honour and had the honour of Preferential trust, was demanded for the Prince and the various buildings, public and private, being decorated with festive buntings, the royal festivities were arranged for. And on the 5th Isfandarand of the Ilahi month (Akbar's era) of 992 Hijra, the appointed time by the astrologers, the Emperor Akbar descended for being welcomed with prosperity Under the Sign Twins, was raised the dignity of the Rajah's residence to the skies and that lady of spotless bedroom was wedded in marriage to the supreme gem of the Empire with all blessed union and was brought to the Imperial Palace for ever The Rajah performed the ceremonies of scattering of jewels and money, etc. (for keeping away the effect of the evil eye) and after presenting tribute he actually presented suitable dresses of honour in connection with this relationship which was the capital of exulting pride to the Rajah's elders and to his future progeny. And to all the princes of high rank and to all the high ladies, the Rajah sent in fitting victuals and to each and every one of the household servants, their names being written in a list, was given a dress of honour and for this felicity the Rajah got the glorification for all times.

In 994 Hijra, Prince Jahangir was nominated to be married to the angelic daughter of Rajah Udaisingh who on the bases of the purest blue blood and on his possession of enormous army was regarded as Supreme amongst all the Rajahs of India. Hemistich :—

‘ It was at the moment which was the friend of the Almanach ’— (non-plus ultra so far as auspiciousness was concerned). His Majesty Emperor Akbar, with the ladies of the tent who were famous for purity, went to the residence of the Rajah and fastened the marriage

tie which was joined to felicity itself and opened the door of joy and success in those times.

Couplet.—‘The Empire lacked so much the ornament that in the end, the Almighty fulfilled the demand of the Empire.’

Udaisingh is the son of Rajah Maldeo who was of recognized status and was master of grandeur. And the rank and file of his army reached the number of eighty thousand troops. Although the Rana Sanga, who had given pitched battle to the Emperor Baber (May God preserve his reasoning), was equal to Maldeo in wealth and grandeur, but in the extent of territory and in the rank and file of army, Maldeo was superior. As such it often occurred that the officers of his army had occasion to be engaged in battle with Rana Sanga and on every occasion the symptoms of superiority and victory were on the side of the Rao. In this very year from the body of the good starred daughter of Rajah Bhagwan Das, an angelic daughter was born and she was named Sultan Nisa Begum. And on the 24th day of the month of Amardad of the Hijra year 995, a son was born from the body of the daughter of the same Rajah and he was named Sultan Khusru. And on the 19th Shaban of 997 Hijra, in the Palace of prosperity another son put his foot on the floor of existence from the body of the daughter of Khwaja Hassan, the uncle of Zeen Khan; and was named as Sultan Parviz. And on the 23rd of the month of Shahraiwar of the Hijra year 998 a daughter was born from the body of the daughter of Rajah Keshodas Rathor and she was named Bahar Banu Begum.

The highly felicitous birth of the fortunate Prince, who was the heir to the crown and the throne (Khurram) Shah Jahan, took place on Thursday on the new moon night of the month of Rabi-ul-awal of the Hijra year 1000, after the passing of 5 Saats (one Saat=one hour being $2\frac{1}{2}$ gharis in Hindustani), 12 Dakikas ($1/60$ th part of a Darja or degree) which year had been proclaimed as the most blessed of the years throughout the Empire in Emperor Jahangir's regime. According to the calculation of the astrologers of Persia, the Prince who had the reigning star of the Empire and the brightest gem of the casket of happiness (May God preserve him in safety and felicity), had put his foot on the throne of existence in all accompaniments of prosperity, from the sacred womb of the angelic daughter of Rajah Udai Singh, under the influence of Libra, the abode of pleasure but according to

the calculation of the astrologers of India the Birth was placed under the influence of the sign of the Virgo.

The date of the Prince's noble birth was introductory to good many rare and glad tidings and was index to strange occurrences. One from all these is that the Prince, the best of mankind, was born in the blessed month of Ramzan. This coincidence is the clear sign of prosperity and is evidenced by the Prophet's word, on whose head gems may be scattered, and is also justified by the traditions of the Prophets which say that ' Verily God raiseth up for the people at the beginning of every century, a person who renews it and rebuilds it ' and that Being from whom beneficence emanates, enlightened, and adorned the world at the commencement of the eleventh century, and thus he became the reformer of the eleventh century. And according to the ordination of the divine organization to the effect that in the thousandth year in the world, there appears a Protector or master of the world so that by the aid of the Grace of God existing from all eternity, all blameable customs of non-observance and ignorance may be thrown away from the plain of the world and with the candle of eternal guidance may be a light to the transgressors living in the valley of infidelity and enmity. So that 456 years before this that decipherer of the divine secrets, Afzaluddin Hakim of Khaqan had prophesied the rising of the birth of such a star of prosperity. And being unfortunate as only knowing this future felicity but regretting the non-discovery of the exact time, left in writing for the world as a memento this poetic piece of 4 hemistiches :—

It is said that every thousandth year from the world

Comes out a confident Super-being.

I was not born from the non-existence when one had come ere this,

Some one would come after this and then I shall have gone down with grief

This noblest of the births, being the commencement of the cycle of the thousand, was the light increaser to the eye of the expectants of the morning of felicity. On the third day of the noble birth, Emperor Akbar put his feet in the Palace of the Prince Jahangir and added lustre to the eyes of hopes, by seeing the light of the beauty (which was illuminating the whole world) of that pupil of the eye of the Empire. In that angelic assembly festivities were arranged in such a way that by seeing them the eye of the world showed the wonder by the collyrium used thereon. The blessing giving feet of

the Emperor became the cause of giving Joy to the world and its inhabitants. The illustrious grandfather receiving a revelation from the Creator named him Sultan Khurram, the elevated of the spiritual and material worlds.

HEMISTICH

‘ So long as the world exists, let it be populous with the name Joy (Khurram).’

The chief event of these days, was the coming in of Khwajah Abdulla in the court of the Prince Jahangir. The ancestors of the Khwajah who were miracle performers to some extent, were from the pious Sayads and the fourth ancestor of the Khwajah was the leader of the masters of ecstasy and divine dance, named Amir Sayad Ashiq, the description of whose felicity is given in the book called Habeeb-ul-San and Rushat, etc , and the praiseworthy father of the Khwajah Khwar Khwajah Hasan Nakshbandy who had kept Bakhtnisan Begum, sister of Emperor Akbar, in the fastness of marriage. The Khwajah in the year 1002 brought his brother Khwajah Yadgar, the father of the writer of this wonderful book, from the forts of the mother country to the worshipful door of the Emperor Akbar. His Majesty bestowed commands on him according to his ability and appointed him to the Subah of the Dakkan. As Khwajah Bashir had relationship, it was ordered that he be appointed jointly to the above post and these two of the noble race on reaching the Daccan performed all sort of service and undertook every enterprise that appeared with all the customs of manliness, self-sacrifice, due rectitude and due sense of service and the essentials of his service were fixed on the hearts of all. As in his ambition he was a high flying falcon, he thought he should obey the customs of fortune and went towards the angelic threshold and reached in 1003 Hijra the presence of Prince Jahangir and gradually owing to the character-reading and appreciation of the Prince, rose to high position.

RUBRIC III

Raising of the Saturn reaching standard of the Emperor Akbar for the subjugation of the Dakkan and Prince Jahangir's obtaining supreme command for the suppression of the anger provoking Rana.

As in the year 1007 Hijra it became evident from the applications of the really faithful subjects of the Empire and the sincere well-wishers that subjugation of the Dakkan cannot be successful without the starting of the world opening standards of the Emperor Akbar, it was on the sixth lunar month of the Divine era, the appointed time by the astrologers that Emperor himself personally directed his attention towards that way (the Dakkan). The Province of Ajmere was included in the maintenance Jagir of Prince Jahangir as a good augury of the successful conclusion and blessing. Rajah Man Singh and Shah Qulli Khan as confidants and numerous others from the nobles were appointed in attendance on the Prince and at that very auspicious time these were nominated for the eradication of the evil contention of the Rana. The aim of the selection and bringing together of this was that the Imperial escort of good fortune may be ready to start for far off provinces of the Empire and that the post of the Deputy of the Empire may not have any change, owing to the appointment of the heir-apparent and that the boundaries of the anger-provoking Rana be accessible for the purposes of reinforcement and protection of the Saturn-like army.

Though Rajah Man Singh was attached as the Chief of the Staff with Prince Jahangir but on the solicitation of the former, the province of Bengal was kept in the Rajah's possessions, according to the previously prevailing custom. The Rajah made strong promise that he himself would remain in attendance on the Prince and that his sons and agents would superintend and guard Bengal for him and thus Jagat Singh, his illustrious eldest son, was put in charge of that province as the Chief Superintendent. And as near at hand at the time Jagat Singh had to undertake an unavoidable journey, the Rajah then appointed his son, Maha Singh, to his father's post by putting him and sending him at the head of the affairs of Bengal.

As the city of Ajmer, for good many times had become the seat of tent pitching of the Grandeur and Majesty of Prince Jahangir, the military forces which rivalled the wave of the ocean and other sorts of forces, got permission for the eradication of the Rana and after a short time the Prince himself strolling and hunting, reached by stages, the city of Udaipur and that wanderer of the bye-paths and of uncertain determination (Rana) came out of the hills and plundered and destroyed some places; but as the soldiers of the victory gaining

MA'ASIR-I-JAHANGIRI

army went behind him, the Rana again in a perturbed condition threw himself in the valleys of the hills and his possessions were subject to the trampling of the glorious army. An enormous number of unbelievers were found dead on that plain of battle and their wives and children were sold as slaves and made prisoners. The news reached at this very time about the rebellion in Bengal and the defeat of Maha Singh. And on the 15th of the month of Teer of the Divine year of the same year, Prince Sultan Parvaiz went away to the celestial world (died) which event threw all the ladies of the heir-apparent's palace in mourning.

The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER IV (1720-27)

BY

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EARLY REGIME OF BAJI RAO

BAJI RAO was invested with the office of Peshwa on April 17, 1720, at Masur near Karhad.¹ He was confirmed in his father's jagirs and was further granted all the *saranjam* or jagirs of Damaji Thorat.² It has been the hobby of historians to depict the reluctance of Shahu to this appointment,³ but there is hardly any truth in that assumption.⁴ Shahu, if nothing else was a shrewd judge of men. He had been closely watching Bajī Rao, almost from his boyhood, and convinced of his great ability he had no hesitation in appointing him to the responsible office of his chief minister.* Bajī Rao had kept constantly in the company of his father and had even accompanied him to Delhi. Associated in the troubles and triumphs of the great Peshwa, he learnt a good deal about the men and matters by personal experience. He had besides, shown great aptitude for the calling of soldier. He rode exceedingly well, and loved fighting more than any other pursuit. Though not as learned as his father, he was no mean revenue expert. In fact at the age when young men generally contest for prizes in colleges and universities he was fully equipped to hold the helm of Maratha affairs, and that, in the teeth of opposition of a hostile party, led by the *pratinidhi* Shripat Rao, who on his father's death in May 1718, had succeeded to his office in June of the same year.⁵

¹ Rajwade vol. II, p. 39 f.n.

² *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 38.

³ पेशव्यांचो बखर p. 10.

⁴ भारतवर्ष 1899 July, article 2, p. 4.

⁵ Rajwade, vol. II, p. 39 f.n. and पेशव्यांचो बखर p. 10.

* When his father died Bajī Rao had attained the age of twenty and Chimnaji Appa, twelve. Karbhari Ambaji Pant Purandare held the office of Diwan.
¹ Besides, in the Brahmin party, the most prominent were Bajī Bhu Rao, Krishnaji

Baji Rao's greatness is seen in its proper perspective when we realize that very early in life he chalked out a policy which was at once far reaching and unifying. He wanted to found an empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire. He brought about the expansion of the Maratha Confederacy, and gave it a unified form. He created new Sardars, carved out new territories for them, and infused a new spirit into Maharashtra. The centre of gravity shifted from the barren and rugged lands of the Marathas to the flowing plains beyond the Narmada

Baji Rao's policy, which developed and took shape out of Balaji Viswanath's hazy notions of founding a Maratha empire received an impetus from the crumbling condition of the Mughal Government. The factors rapidly transforming the face of the Empire affected the attitude of the Marathas. The Marathas were conscious of the helplessness of the Mughal Subahdars, and of their own irresistible strength. Nor was this all. The Rajputs who were the bulwark of the Empire till the time of Aurangzeb, had not only been alienated but now stretched out the hand of friendship to them. That the Rajputs were a great factor in the rise of the Marathas is often not realized in its proper magnitude. We shall presently see what part they actually played in the coming struggle of the Marathas for the political supremacy in Northern India. Therefore in trying to explain the successful execution of Baji Rao's policy, we should not lose sight of two decisive factors. The first was the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the second was the friendliness of the Rajputs.

' Mahadeo Joshi Chaskar (the brother of Baji Rao's wife Kashi Bai), Bhisaji Krishna Pethe, the father-in-law of Chimnaji Appa, Malhar Dadaji Barwe, the rich maternal uncle of Baji Rao, Babuji Naik Batamatikar, the soldier and money-lender, and Vyankat Rao Ghorepade, the son-in-law of Balaji Viswanath. In the Maratha party, the rich and powerful were Pilaji Jadhav Rao, Ranoji Shinde, Malharji Holkar, and others. Baji Rao went to Satara, and met the Maharaja. Then opened the discussion about the investiture. At that time Baji Rao was very haughty and was absorbed always in the martial sports. He had no patience, which is necessary for shouldering the responsibilities of the state. Therefore many advised the king that he was not fit for the office (of Peshwa). The king however replied that Balaji Viswanath spent his whole life working hard for the state, and enjoyed no happiness at the end. Hence Baji Rao should be immediately given the office. If he be fortunate, then he shall have the grace of God. If it appeared that he has no ability, then it should be considered later on. Thus invoking the grace of God he gave Baji Rao the robes of office. He (Baji Rao's Policy) stayed there for some time.' (म: रि: pp. 136-7.)

These two facts will be our guiding principles in the interpretation of details that interweave the narrative.

REVOLUTION IN IMPERIAL POLITICS

Baji Rao's accession to power synchronizes with an important revolution in the politics of the Empire. It resulted in the change of power from the hands of the Sayyids to those of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and it was fraught with great consequences for Maharastra. From the point of view of Maratha history therefore it will not be out of place, to give a brief account of that revolution in imperial politics.

The deposition of Farrukhsiyar, his murder in the prison, the subsequent nomination of two other puppets to the throne and their immediate death, and lastly Muhammad Shah's accession to the throne as a nominee of the Sayyid brothers, marked the climax of their power. The Sayyids had become so arrogant that on one occasion, Husain Ali boasted of making an Emperor of any one, on whom he chose to cast his shoe. Their dreaded strength made them an object of envy to the nobility, and an object of hatred to the emperor. The young emperor hated them with mingled fear, but his mother who possessed tact, intelligence, and a knowledge of state business as few of her sex set to work their ruin, when she assiduously kept up an appearance of loyalty and friendliness towards them.¹ In this she was substantially helped up Nizam-ul-Mulk, for the latter was an avowed enemy of the Sayyids.²

We have already seen that Nizam-ul-Mulk was superseded in the Deccan by Husain Ali Khan after a rule of barely two years, and this supersession embittered him against the Sayyids. He withdrew to his new governorship of Muradabad, and came to the capital only when called by Farrukhsiyar to aid him against the Sayyids. Since he could not work with Farrukhsiyar he deserted to the side of the Sayyids, who conferred upon him the government of Patna more with the idea of securing his absence from the court than of rewarding him for his loyalty to them. Before he started for Patna however, Farrukhsiyar had been deposed, and there had come about a change in their policy towards him. They now offered him Malwa, for they thought he would have no scope for his ambition in that province, on one side of which was the Deccan and on the other Akbarabad, both

¹ Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 485.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 488-9.

held by their partisans. Nevertheless Nizam-ul-Mulk accepted the offer, but on the condition that he should not be removed again. The pledge was given, and he started for Ujjain on March 15, 1719. But soon causes of difference arose, and he was recalled on the plea that it was necessary for the protection of the Deccan that Husain Ali should have the charge of Malwa. Nizam-ul-Mulk was asked to choose any one out of the four provinces of Akbarabad, Allahabad, Multan and Burhanpur. Since this was a distinct breach of faith, he apprehended worse consequences and began to prepare for self-defence. But when he heard that a *farman* had been sent to him conferring on him the province of Akbarabad, he made a move on the Deccan. Giving out that he was on his way to Sironj, he made straight for the Narmada and crossed it on May 8, 1720, at Akbarpur. Across the Narmada he made an attempt to buy over the garrison of the fortress of Asirgarh and succeeded in occupying it on May 20, 1720. Three days later, i.e. on May 23, fell Burhanpur into his hands.¹

BATTLE OF KHANDWA, JUNE 19, 1720

This threw the Deccan, then held in proxy for Sayyid Husain by Alim Ali Khan, his nephew and adopted son, into confusion. Already the Sayyid brothers had despatched urgent orders to Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan to follow instantly in pursuit of the Nizam, and had written to the Deputy Governor to bar his further advance. As soon as Alim Ali Khan received the letter of his uncles he set to collect an army of Marathas and new men. In the meanwhile Dilawar Ali Khan had made a rapid march and had got as far as Hasanpur, about 14 kos from Burhanpur. This awakened Nizam-ul-Mulk to a sense of danger, and considering Dilawar Ali Khan the more formidable of the two he decided to encounter him first. He was however fortunate enough to secure the support of Anwar Khan, Subahdar of Burhanpur, and Rumbhaji Nimbalkar, and many of the zamindars of the neighbourhood.² Leaving his head-quarters in early June he came to halt at Pandhra, between Khandwa and Hasanpur, where Dilawar Ali Khan had encamped. In the battle which ensued on June 19 he defeated and

¹ [*Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 611, Diary of Monday 20th June 1720] and Eradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 173.

² Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 492.

killed his adversary and plundered his rich camp. The news of his death created a consternation in the minds of the two brothers, and greatly concerned for the safety of their family, which Husain Ali had left in the Deccan in 1718 they tried to propitiate him by bestowing on him the viceroyalty of the Deccan. 'Accept my congratulations,' wrote Husain Ali, 'Alim Ali my (adopted) son, and my family propose 'to return to this country; kindly furnish them with an escort and 'see that they are not molested on the way.'¹

BATTLE OF BALAPUR, JULY, 1720

In the meantime Alim Ali was vigorously preparing for the ensuing combat. Besides his own troops he had a Maratha contingent sent by Shahu under Santaji Sindhia, Khanderao Dabhade, the *Senapati* Shankaraji Malhar, Kanhoji Bhonsle and others. Bajji Rao, then campaigning in Khandesh, also is said to have joined Alim Ali,² by the orders of Shahu. Alim Ali, then only twenty had the dash of an intrepid soldier, but not the circumspection of a general. His army, about 7,000 strong, was³ badly wielded. He had to reckon with a man who excelled no less in intrigue, than in generalship. Nizam-ul-Mulk with his usual ability sowed sedition and distrust in the army opposed to him. He followed his artifice by a letter to Alim Ali in which he wrote that since he (Nizam) had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan it was no use opposing him. Alim Ali should return to Hindustan as desired by his uncle. When the nobles of Alim Ali came to know of the Nizam's appointment from his letter they sought their safety by either flying to their own homes or joining the new Subahdar. But Alim Ali was not to be shaken from his resolve. Undaunted by the desertion of troops his young heart burned with bravery, and he marched out to give battle to Nizam-ul-Mulk at a place two or three kos from Balapur. On August 10, 1720 dawned that fatal day, which witnessed that fatal encounter which resulted in the utter defeat of his army and left him a corpse on the field.⁴ He died an enviable death, fighting bravely to the last moment.

¹ Irvine, vol. II, p. 36.

² Rajwade, vol. II, p. 44.

³ *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 611, Diary of Thursday, July 28, 1720.

⁴ *Ibid* the Diary gives no date

MURDER OF HUSAIN ALI AND DEFEAT OF HIS BROTHER

Swift camel-riders brought the news of this disaster to Agra on August 26, 1720. Overcome with grief and resentment (for Alim Ali was the adopted son of Sayyid Husain) they determined to wreak a terrible vengeance on Nizam-ul-Mulk. It was decided that the emperor accompanied by Husain Ali Khan should proceed to punish the Nizam while Abdullah Khan should remain in Delhi till his return. The Ajmer route being chosen, the imperial tents were sent out on the 3rd of September, and on the 11th the first march was made¹. During the course of the journey a conspiracy was formed in the camp, at the head of which was Muhammad Amin Khan, a cousin and partisan of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He so adroitly engineered the plot that at the moment of its consummation Sayyid Husain had not the slightest inkling of it. A willing assassin was found in Mir Haidar Beg, who was a Sayyid like Husain Ali, and is reported to have said, 'I am a Sayyid and he is a Sayyid if brother kill a brother what matters it?'² Accordingly on October 8, 1720, when the imperial cortege encamped at a distance of two kos to the east of Toda Bhim, they made ready for the execution of the plot. On the morning of that fatal day Husain Ali escorted the emperor as usual up to the Imperial camp and while returning to his own, Sayyid Haidar Beg approached him with a petition, 'and crying aloud for justice on Mahummad Ameen Khan. The attendants would have driven him away, but the Ameer-al-Amra commanded them to let him approach, which he did, and presented the paper. While he was engaged in reading it, Hyder Khan drew his dagger and plunged it into his side. The Ameer-al-Amra struck the ruffian a violent blow with his foot, at the same time crying out, "Put the emperor to death." The shock of his motion overset the palanquin, and he fell dead on the ground.'³ Thus perished the powerful king-maker in an ignominious way, at the hands of a Sayyid like himself. Then his head was paraded through the camp, and his properties were given over to plunder. The sequel is simple enough. The murder of Husain Ali, the more capable of the

¹ Irvine, vol. II, pp. 51-2 and *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 611, Diary of Tuesday, October 4, 1720.

² Irvine, vol. II, p. 57.

³ Eradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part IV., p. 176.

two brothers took the wind out of their sails. Abdullah Khan, who heard the news on October 9, at once returned to Delhi, and set up a rival emperor on the throne. With a lavish distribution of money he enlisted large numbers of men under his banner most of whom were mere rabble, and taking with him the newly-made emperor he started to wreak his vengeance on Muhammad Shah. Early in the morning of Wednesday, November 13, 1720, the battle was joined at Hasanpur. It raged in all its fury throughout the day and continued to the next. On the 14th Abdullah was badly defeated and taken prisoner with the prince that he had raised to the throne. The Sayyid was thrown into prison, and lived for two years to be done to death at last by poison.

NIZAM IN THE DECCAN

The victories of Khandwa (June 19) and Balapur (July) left Nizam-ul-Mulk master of the six Subahs of the Deccan. Besides he had been appointed viceroy by the imperial *farman*. But for two months after Balapur he awaited the further development of affairs abroad in a state of suspense, for Husain Ali was coming to chastize him at the head of fifty thousand troops. While haunted by the gloomy forebodings of a coming struggle with the Sayyid he lost no time in strengthening his position. He resumed his friendship with Sambhuji, Chandra Sen and other Maratha rebels. At this time Mahipat Rao, the son of Anand Rao Sumant, was pressing Nizam-ul-Mulk to allow him to post his officers to collect the *Chauth* from the adjoining district of Aurangabad, and Nizam-ul-Mulk was delaying till he heard definitely about the proceedings of the conspirators at the imperial camp. At last when he came to know that Husain Ali had been murdered in October and his brother defeated and captured in November he abruptly changed his attitude towards Shahu. He refused to grant permission to Mahipat Rao, to appoint Maratha officers for the collection of the *Chauth*. But Baji Rao had anticipated Nizam-ul-Mulk, and on the death of Alim Ali had congratulated the emperor and asked his agent at Delhi, to get the treaty of 1718-9 reconfirmed. It was easily effected and on the receipt of the reconfirmation Baji Rao deputed the Sarlashkar to collect an army in the Gangathadi, and realize the *Chauth* by force of arms. Apprised of this Nizam-ul-Mulk at once climbed down, and granted the

required permission to the son of the Sumant. Though afraid to wound he was ever ready to strike Shahu. And wherever he could manage by diplomacy he never resorted to force. As on a previous occasion he now thought of fomenting strifes amongst the Maratha chiefs and cautiously set to work out his tortuous policy. He had agreed to respect the terms of the treaty of 1718-9 and accordingly he ought to have left Poona and Baramati to the Marathas. Poona had already been resigned to them, but Baramati was still retained by the Mughals. Hence Bajī Rao forcibly ejected the Mughal officers, and took possession of Baramati. Upon this Nizam-ul-Mulk ordered Muhakam Singh and Chandra Sen Jadhav to invade the territories of Shahu. But on account of the opportune presence of the Sarlashkar in the Gangathadi, they were chased out with heavy loss.¹ Here young Bajī Rao's foresight saved the situation, for it was he who had posted the Sarlashkar there. This was however the mere beginning of the Peshwa's wonderful activities. His rapidity of movement, and dispatch of business are equally remarkable. On January 4, 1721, he encountered the Nizam himself near Baramati, and then sweeping through Khandesh, Surat and Rajpipla appeared on the banks of the Godavari by the beginning of the rains². In the meantime the Pratinidhi had been sent into the Karnatak to bring the whole country under the Maratha sway. This fired up Nizam-ul-Mulk and he marched as far as Mysore with Mubārīz Khan, though orders had reached him from the emperor to return to Delhi at once. Bajī Rao did not leave him alone and followed hard on his heels as far as Aurangabad.³ But the Nizam had to come back quickly to obey the imperial summons and had to leave the Deccan at once. Thus he was foiled in his ambition as before. His departure to Delhi again gave a new turn to Maratha affairs. Now Bajī Rao formulated for the first time his policy of conquest, and of founding an empire on the ruins of the Mughal empire. It is on account of this significant fact that Nizam's departure is of consequence to the Marathas.

¹ *Marathā Riyasat*, vol. 1, p. 161, थो: शा. च: p. 42.

² Rajwade, vol. 11, p. 44, Bharatvarsha July, 1889, पंथप्रधान याजो दुसरो शकानली ।

³ Rajwade, vol. 11. प्रस्तावना p. 14.

Nizam as Wazir:—Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived at Agra on January 16, 1722, and a few days passed in deliberation on the charges that had been brought against him. On February 20 there was a grand audience held by the emperor, when 'he was appointed Wazir and 'received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen-case and 'a diamond ring of great value''

Nizam-ul-Mulk was beset with difficulties in his new position almost from the outset. The incompatibility of age and temperament between Nizam-ul-Mulk and the emperor was not all. Bahadar Shah, a frivolous and spoilt youth of twenty did not like the stern puritanism and seriousness of the Nizam. A man of weak character, his favourites had the entire possession of his confidence, and the Wazir found himself thwarted at every step. All his salutary measures were approved of, but met with scant attention. His manners and appearance were ridiculed in the open Court, and even sarcastic remarks were made to his face. But since the old minister was impervious to these, the emperor set to remove him by conspiracy. Soon plots and counter-plots, for which the Delhi court was so notorious, were set on foot, and poor Nizam had to meet with a host of uncompromising enemies, all the more dangerous because concealed. How he was forced at length to resign his office, and retire to the Deccan will be apparent from the sequel.

IMPERIAL POLITICS (1719-24)

The five years from 1719 to 1724 are a period of unprecedented confusion in the history of the Empire. In the capital four new kings were made in the course of a single year, the two Sayyid brothers reaching the pinnacle of glory fell to the dust, and perished, Nizam-ul-Mulk won for himself the whole country between the Chambal and the Cauvery, the Rajputs attained to a power, never known before, the Jats and the Rohillas carved out independent principalities for themselves, and taking advantage of these troubles, the Marathas embarked upon a resolute policy of aggression on the Mughal territories. After the appointment of Nizam-ul-Mulk he strove to stay the rapid disintegration of the empire by his salutary measures, which on the one hand estranged the emperor and on the other created bad

¹ Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol vii., p 518

² *Ibid.*, p. 518

blood between himself and the envious nobles. In such a critical situation, the support of the emperor would have turned the trend of affairs, but he was neither capable nor cautious. In utter unconcern he let the affairs drift in their own way, and the consequence was most fatal.

ATTITUDE OF THE RAJPUTS

The Rajputs were the first to take advantage of this state of affairs. The houses of Jodhpur and Jaipur played a conspicuous part in Delhi politics and by opportune aloofness or adherence they had added to their possessions a large portion of the empire. Ajit Singh of Jodhpur had received besides his own dominions, the governments of Gujrat and Ajmer. After the accession of Mahammad Shah, Jai Singh of Jaipur, who had resented the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, was propitiated by a large gift of money, and by the grant of Surat Sarkar. On the fall of the Sayyids he was made the governor of Agra. 'In this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Dihli to the shores of the ocean at Surat was in the hand of these two rajahs, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed frontier.' Maharaja Ajit Singh was the governor of Gujrat between 1719 and 1721. In the year of his appointment Pilaji Gaikwad, the agent of Khanderao Dabhade to whom Balaji had assigned the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of Gujrat and Baglan, 'made frequent incursions and taking Songad in the extreme south-east established there and from this year the Mughal rule in Gujrat was doomed. . . . Ajit Singh so hated the Muhammeden rule that he secretly favoured the Marathas, and strove to establish his own authority, on such portions of Gujrat as bordered on Marwar.'¹ Already Gujrat had been suffering from anarchy and religious riots,² and with the incursions of the Marathas at the instigation of the Rajputs, the great Gujrat Houses of Babis and Jhalories tried to establish their independence. When Gujrat was in this welter of anarchy, Maharaja Ajit Singh was deprived of his governorship and Haider Quli was appointed instead. This change had been made in pursuance of a policy of reaction against that of the Sayyid brothers, who favoured the Rajputs, and thus secured them in the interest of the empire. This new policy was

¹ 'History of Gujrat'. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 301.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 295-300.

really suicidal, for on the one hand the adherence of Ajit Singh was irretrievably lost and on the other Haidar Quli's appointment proved very unfortunate. Owing to his hostility towards the Wazir Nizam-ul-Mulk and owing to the unhinged condition of Gujrat government Haidar Quli early aimed at independence and tried to defy the imperial authority.¹ Nizam-ul-Mulk persuaded the emperor to take prompt action. The latter was loth to interfere with a favourite officer at first, but overcome by the arguments and importunities of the Wazir he took it away from Haidar Quli and conferred it on Nizam-ul-Mulk on October 24, 1722. Soon after the Wazir left for Gujrat to bring the refractory governor back to allegiance. Haidar Quli prepared to resist, but since few nobles were willing to assist him, for he had been formally dismissed by the emperor, he considered it wise to give in. As the Wazir approached Ahmadabad by the end of February, 1723, he quitted the provincial capital and fled towards Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk made arrangements for the government of Gujrat and leaving his uncle Hamid Khan as his deputy he returned to the court by the beginning of July 1723. Thus another result of the new policy was that Nizam-ul-Mulk added a third province to his former possessions of Deccan and Malwa. These vast possessions forming a solid block of territories between the Chambal and the Cauvery, were held in proxy for an absentee viceroy, at a time when the Marathas were gathering strength, for one fell swoop over these fruitful provinces of the empire. It is a pity that none realized the importance of Gujrat and Malwa at this critical time. They were the outlying provinces of Hindustan and on their stability depended the integrity of the empire. But by an unpardonable folly these two provinces were subjected to very frequent changes of governors. As many as ten governors were appointed during the sixteen years between 1706 and 1722. The Marathas had already begun their raids into these provinces and when they found the government weak, and the people oppressed by successive governors, whose short tenure of office naturally prompted them to fleece the subjects, they eagerly looked forward for their conquest—a task which was facilitated, on account of the willing allegiance of the oppressed inhabitants of the countries. It will be narrated in the sequel how the chiefs of Malwa and Bundelkhand actually invited the

¹ 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1, part. 1, p. 303.

Marathas into their country. Indeed the empire was on the brink of a deep chasm.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN BAJI RAO AND SHRIPAT RAO

Thus while confusion and conspiracies shrouded the empire like a pall of blighting fog, there was raging a great controversy in Maharastra. Bajī Rao and Shripat Rao were confronting each other in a duel for domination in the Maratha state. The prevailing conditions of the Empire influenced each in outlining his own policy, and we shall see how Bajī Rao succeeded at last in getting the better of his adversary.

Turning then to Maharastra, we notice that the departure of Nizam-ul-Mulk for Delhi at the end of 1721, brought about a change in the attitude of the Deputy Viceroy (Mubariz Khan). He openly gave out that he was not going to respect the treaty of the Sayyids, and therefore he was not prepared to pay the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* to the Marathas. When this determination of the Deputy Viceroy was communicated to Bajī Rao by his agent Anand Rao Sumant, he got highly exasperated and took a sternly hostile attitude towards the Mughals. He was well aware of the condition of the empire. He knew on the one hand, that the emperor was a worthless puppet; the nobles were jealous of one another, the government broken up, and the army inefficient. On the other hand Maharastra he saw was emerging stronger out of the chaos. He thought, he could strengthen the Maratha state and the king much more by a policy of open war and conquest, than by solicitations for the payment of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the Deccan. To him it really appeared annoying that the Marathas should be obstructed in their free movements in the Karnatic, in Malwa and Gujrat, and their privileges should be repudiated. It would be more manly, he thought, to strike and impose one's own authority than to pray for certain privileges. And being a soldier by temperament, the former measure appealed to him more than the latter. He therefore sent orders to the Maratha Sardars to make raids into Malwa and Gujrat, and here he did not reckon any authority, not even that of Shahu. At this time he had a conference with Nizam-ul-Mulk between February 19 and March 5, 1723, near Jhawwa, when the latter had come to Gujrat to drive out

Haidar Quli Khan.¹ But since each concealed his real intentions, the interview practically came to nothing. These independent proceedings of Baji Rao, without reference to Shahu, were not pleasing to him, and appeared highly outrageous to the party of the Pratinidhi. Nor was this all. The party of the Pratinidhi was opposed to the policy of the Peshwa, and in full accord with the king. Shahu owing to his gratitude for the imperial house, for the kindness shown to him by Alamgir and the grant of his liberty and kingdom after the death of Alamgir never liked the idea of fighting the Mughals or conquering their territory. The Pratinidhi and his party were averse to the policy of Baji Rao, because they thought, the time was not ripe for actual aggression. They might keep patience for some time till they have a well-ordered state and sound finances. The infant Maratha state emerging from the exhaustion of a civil war, would reel and fall flat on the ground if called upon to bear the strain of aggression and subsequently to shoulder the responsibilities of fresh conquests. They had much reason on their side, and Shahu was at one with them. He felt greatly concerned and indeed nervous at the bold attitude of the young and inexperienced Baji Rao. He wrote many letters calling him to a personal interview, so that he might discuss matters with him. In one he writes :

‘ You have written much about your loyalty but though we wrote ‘ to you several times to come to our presence, you do not seem to think ‘ of coming. I asked you to appoint some good man, who would act in ‘ concert with both the parties (you and Pratinidhi) in our presence ‘ but you failed to make a move in the matter. This has created a ‘ dead-lock in the affairs of the state. Even the overtures with the ‘ Nawab (Nizam-ul-Mulk) have come to naught. Hence this suggestion ‘ to you. How many times shall we write to you that you should be ‘ on your guard about the affairs of the state and take a personal ‘ interest in them? Therefore you should come once, learn these ‘ things from us and act accordingly. We wonder how you fail to do ‘ this, through your idleness. We do not want to do anything unless ‘ you have a personal interview with us for a few days. If we are ‘ convinced that you are unable to manage this, we shall have to think ‘ of somebody else Then you will feel for it.’ ²

¹ Rajwade, vol. 11, p. 48

² *Ibid.*, vi, Doc. 16

Here Shahu insists on a personal discussion of the conflicting policies of the Peshwa and Pratinidhi, with Baji Rao, and deals a threat that his obduracy might be punished with dismissal. In obedience to the order of Shahu, Baji Rao came to Satara and in a conference of all the ministers of state, he boldly faced his adversaries. 'In the Council chamber Shripat Rao the Pratinidhi . . . drew a just picture of the disorganization of the finances, of the disordered state of the Konkan, where the Sidis had many important towns. Instead of bringing on their country such another invasion as that of Aurangzib, led this time by a soldier as skilled as Nizam-ul-Mulk, let the Marathas consolidate their conquests. Their independence has been recognized. *It was far better to avoid a rupture with Delhi or Aurangabad. At peace with their neighbours let them convert their present possession into a wealthy and powerful kingdom. That aim achieved let them devote themselves to conquests nearer home. The Mughals had overrun Shivaji's southern conquests.* Let the Marathas retake Jinji and all its fertile districts and the provinces torn by the great king from Bijapur. This second ambition realized, it would be time enough to set in motion their armies against Delhi.

Baji Rao replied that the way to restore their finances was to plunder the rich provinces of Hindustan, and not to waste their strength and treasure in the barren plains of the Deccan. He drew a vivid picture of the deeds of Shivaji, who with far less resources had defied the Moghul Empire in its heyday. He excited Shahu's cupidity by dwelling on the indolence, the imbecility and above all the wealth of the Moghuls, and he stimulated his religious zeal by urging him to drive from the holy land of Bharat-Varsha the outcast and the barbarian. The orator's reasoning might have been wasted but for his transcendent personal qualities. The commanding stature which all but reached the low ceiling of the royal palace, the rich clear voice, the bold virile features, the dark imperious eyes that forced attention, and above all the rare felicity of diction that for centuries has been the peculiar gift of the Chitpavan Brahman produced an irresistible effect. At the close of a lofty peroration, the minister fixed on Shahu his glowing gaze and said: 'Strike, strike at the trunk and the branches will fall of themselves. Listen but to my counsel and I shall plant the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock.' Rhetoric succeeded where argument might have failed.

'Shahu completely carried away, cried with blazing eyes : " By heaven ' you shall plant it on the throne of the Almighty".¹

It was not merely the rhetoric of Bajī Rao that carried the day. There was a great deal of right understanding underneath. The arguments were pregnant with political expediency. Shripat Rao's facts were true, but his inference was not within the limits of practical politics. 'At peace with their neighbours let them convert their 'present possessions into a wealthy and powerful kingdom. That aim 'achieved let them devote themselves to conquests nearer home,' and so on. These are the dreams of an unseasoned theorist, not the plans of practical statesman. It was simply impossible to be 'at peace with their neighbours' and 'convert their present possessions into a wealthy and powerful kingdom' under the circumstances. The hostile proceedings of a determined enemy like Nizam-ul-Mulk, precluded the possibility of peace. On the other hand those proceedings multiplied the rents already in existence in Maharashtra. It was only when the Marathas could forget their jealousies, pettiness and scramble for jagirs, that they could be bound together and their rents could be made up. And that could be done by diverting their attention to objects, that promised greater glory and richer possession. 'Where nature enforces a Spartan simplicity' there nothing could have greater charm than the glitter of gold, or the promise of rich possessions. Bajī Rao knew that if the Marathas could not present an absolutely united front during their war of independence, it was futile to expect them to rise as one man against Nizam-ul-Mulk, at a time when the situation was less dangerous. Therefore when he excited the cupidity of Shahu, he touched the most vital chord of his heart, and indeed of all Maharashtra. Neither was it unreasonable, for that would enrich them and their country ; and with growing responsibilities, with larger conquests they might forget their jealousies and pettiness. He was prepared to open out new possibilities for them, only with the hope that they might improve. He was prepared to feed their cupidity, for he knew it would bring vast responsibilities in its train. This policy was actuated by two pious purposes, inspired by two sincere hopes. One

¹ *A History of Maratha People*. By Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. II, pp. 183-84,

was to arouse the Marathas to a sense of precious possibilities awaiting them that might bring wealth and power in their train ; the other was to saddle them with greater responsibilities, that would naturally kill the pettiness out of their heart.

Once in the annals of modern India Bajı Rao held out great promises, great possibilities for the fallen Hindu race ; once he made a glorious attempt to destroy their discord. But he had reckoned without an insight into the intrinsic nature of the Hindu, the fallen of centuries, the enemy of co-operation and of discipline. Hence his brilliant policy bore a bitter fruit for the whole of India, and the Marathas, instead of name and fame won the deserving appellation of ' Ghanim ' i.e. enemy from the North Indians, and ' Bargi ' or robber from the East Indians

Bajı Rao was as good as his word, and he promptly proceeded to give effect to his policy of aggression. A year before i.e. (1722) he had invaded Baghelkhand, and had levied forced contributions. Now in December 1723 he entered Malwa, at the head of a large army, accompanied by his lieutenants Udayı Pawar, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranojı Sindhia. He defeated the Mughal governor Sayyid Bahadur Shah, and attacked the capital Ujjain. He established military outposts in its neighbourhood, and imposed the black-mail on the country up to Bundelkhand. The Bundelas were favourably disposed towards the Marathas, and hence Bajı Rao encamped for some time in their country. While returning home he left his able chieftains, Udayı Pawar at Dhar, Malhar Rao at Indore and Ranojı Sindhia at Ujjain, as his deputies to realize the annual contributions.¹

NIZAM BACK AGAIN IN THE DECCAN

Leaving Bajı Rao to carry out his new policy, we resume the story of Delhi politics, and the tortuous proceedings of the emperor to get rid of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He returned to Delhi after his Gujrat campaign on July 3, 1723 and promptly resumed his efforts to restore tolerable order into public affairs. He tried to abolish revenue-farming, bribe-taking and the assignment of vast jagirs, and thus to put the finances on a sound basis.² But everywhere he found his efforts foiled. He exhausted his prayer, arguments and entreaties with the emperor, only

¹ Rajwade, vol. 11, pp. 47, 49.

² Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 534.

to learn with bitter disgust that whatever he did or proposed was misrepresented until doubt and suspicion were aroused in the mind of Muhammad Shah.¹ The consequence was that Nizam-ul-Mulk ceased to take interest in the government, and proceeded on a hunting excursion to his jagirs in December 1723 on the pretext of ill-health. He left his son Ghaziuddin as his deputy in the office. Soon after he found affairs at the court unfavourable for him, and therefore represented to the emperor, that as the Marathas had invaded Malwa and Gujrat, it was imperative on him to take leave of the court, and retire into his subahs.² Without waiting for orders he started for the Deccan and reached Burhanpur in Khandesh during Ramzan (May-June) and Aurangabad, by July 1724. But even into the Deccan his enemies had preceded him. Before the Wazir reached the Deccan and could show his hand to the emperor, he learnt that the coveted viceroyalty had been conferred upon Mubariz Khan, the Deputy Governor and a substantial financial grant had been made to him in order that he might resist the Nizam-ul-Mulk and kill him if possible. While encamped near Bhopal he had heard that, instigated by the courtiers of Delhi and supported by the Afghans of the south, Mubariz Khan had set his armies in motion. It put the wary Nizam-ul-Mulk on his guard, and he rapidly advanced to Aurangabad which he occupied unopposed on June 21 and awaited the dilatory proceedings of the enemy. He further applied to Shahu for help and since Shahu had been alienated by Mubariz Khan on account of his hostile proceedings, he readily consented to it.³ 'Shahu ordered Bajı Rao to help him, 'and with the combined army of the Mughals and Marathas he 'marched out in the first week of September 1724.'

BATTLE OF SHAKAR KHEDA, OCTOBER 11, 1724.

The decisive battle was fought on the afternoon of October 11, 1724, at a place called Shakar Kheda situated in the Taluq of Mehkar in the district Buldana in Central Provinces. Bajı Rao is said to have been present in the battle at the head of 7,000 to 8,000 Marathas. The battle resulted in the defeat and death of Mubariz Khan and in the dispersion of his army. He followed up his victory

¹ Irvine, vol. II, p. 133

² Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. VII, p. 525.

³ Rajwade, vol. II प्रस्तावना p. 14

by reducing Mubariz Khan's son and taking possession of Haiderabad by the beginning of 1725 ¹

Foiled in his attempts to encompass the destruction of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the emperor endeavoured to chip off his power. At the request of the nobles of the court whose only consolation now lay in taking their failure in good grace, Nizam-ul-Mulk was pardoned on June 20, 1725, and a formal rescript was issued confirming him in the government of the Deccan, and depriving him of the office of Wazir and with it the governorship of Malwa and Gujrat. Both the one and the other were bestowed upon his favourites. Thus shorn of power and resources, Nizam-ul-Mulk concentrated his attention on the Deccan, and determined to have his own way in that far-off province, unhampered by the caprices and conspiracies of the Delhi court. 'From this time dates the virtual independence of the Nizam², and the Hyderabad state becomes a factor in Indian politics hereafter.'

POLICY OF NIZAM

Free from the tortuous politics of Delhi, he set cautiously to make his authority absolute in the Deccan. But here he was painfully conscious of the existence of his bitter enemy the Marathas. They had gained the rights of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over the Deccan, they had impeded his operations in the Karnatic in 1721, on the eve of his departure for Delhi; and only recently they had raided Malwa and Gujrat. Their raids he noticed had been assuming greater dimensions day by day. Twice before he had tried to sap the foundation of their strength by fomenting their mutual jealousies but every time he had the mortification of stopping short, when he was *ready to execute* his well-calculated designs. Now that he determined to remain in the Deccan, was he to resume his former proceedings or let the Marathas sweep year after year through his richest possessions, the Karnatic, exact the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*, and add to these the rich plunder of Gujrat and Malwa? In view of his reduced resources, after the transfer of Gujrat and Malwa to Sarbuland Khan and Rajah Girdhar Nagar respectively, the latter course would be indeed suicidal. It would give undue advantage to the Marathas and bring great pressure on himself. To an astute ruler like the Nizam, the issues of the two

¹ Irvine, vol. II, p. 146, Rajwade, vol. II, p. 49.

² Irvine, vol. II, p. 154

courses were clear, and wisely for himself he chose the former, i.e. to renew his activities for stirring up strifes in Maharastra. But he knew that it would be too indelicate to show himself in his true colours to the Marathas, specially after obtaining substantial help from them in the battle of Shakar Kheda. Not even a year had elapsed since then, and the Marathas were pluming themselves on the supposed friendship of Nizam-ul-Mulk. It would be a rude shock to them to begin hostilities all at once. He was biding his time, and before long came the interference of the Marathas in the Karnatac. That was a hit at the most vital part and the Nizam would not take it lying. This brought about the breach between the Nizam and the Marathas which lasted for more than a decade. The ultimate triumph of the Marathas however was due to the genius of Baji Rao, and now we shall pass on to outline the events that resulted in this breach.

BREACH BETWEEN THE NIZAM AND SHAHU

On account of his military assistance in the battle of Shakar Kheda, Shahu seemed to think that the Nizam was friendly towards him, and the latter studiously kept up a show of goodwill towards him. Shahu's predilections towards the Mughals, always stood in his way of judging the motives of the Nizam. Twice before he had failed to judge him rightly and now he could never believe that the Nizam was the most vindictive of all his enemies in the south. Baji Rao however had no doubt about his black designs and therefore when Shahu planned the invasion of Karnatac he did not show any great enthusiasm for it; for he knew that the right direction for the expansion of the Marathas was the north and not the south. He had to give an unwilling assent to it, not because, like Shahu, he believed in the friendly professions of the Nizam, nor because he did not know that he would offend the Nizam thereby but because he thought he would put pressure on him from the south by annexing the Karnatac, as much as he would from the north by plundering Gujarat and Malwa. Shahu was always nervous about Baji Rao lest he should give offence to the Nizam and thus bring about a breach. During the Karnatac expeditions, Baji Rao had to give assurance to Shahu that he would not offend the Nizam, and Shahu in his anxiety to keep the Nizam friendly towards him had ordered the Marathas of the north to refrain from ravaging his jagirs (of Nizam) situated in Gujrat. But a man of affectionate nature, Shahu

was no statesman, and was indeed innocent of the intricate problems of diplomacy. He did not know that by invading the Karnatak he would give unpardonable offence to the Nizam.

Karnatak and the Marathas.—The Karnatak formed the richest part of the Deccan and was for many years the bone of contention between the Mughals and the Marathas. Aurangzib had striven to establish his own sway over it, but had failed miserably, owing to the incessant warfare of the Marathas. Jinji at one corner of the Karnatak was the centre of Maratha activities for about a decade. Near it was the state of Tanjore, where ruled the younger branch of the House of Bhonsle—the descendant of Vyankoji, Shivaji's half-brother. The Ghorpades were established at Gutti. Many other Maratha chieftains held outposts in the Karnatak. Belgaum, Gajendragad, Kopal, Sondur, Belari, Shire, Bangalore, Kolar, Vellore and Jinji—all belonged to the Marathas. In assigning the *Saranjam* lands Shahu had given Akkalkot on the borders of the Karnatak to Fateh Singh, so that he might keep an eye on the affairs there. Now Shahu at peace with his neighbours, prosperous and secure on the throne expressed his desire to annex the Karnatak to the *Swarajya* according to the conditions of the treaty of 1718, as ratified by the emperor. He also knew well that the Karnatak was exactly the portion of the country, where the Muhammedan influence had least penetrated, and where the Maratha, and therefore the Hindu sway was most welcome. Hence he called upon his kinsman Tulaji, chief of Tanjore, to help him in the project. Accordingly two expeditions were undertaken between November 1725 and April 1727.¹ The first is known as the Chitradurga or Chittaldurg expedition, the second as the Sheringapatam expedition. Fateh Singh Bhonsle was appointed to the supreme command and was associated with Baji Rao and other Maratha Sardars, at the head of fifty thousand troops.

In the first, Baji Rao started from Satara on November 20, 1725, marched eastward by way of Indapur, Parenda and Pandharpur and skirting the frontiers of the Nizam, so that he might keep an eye on his movements, he passed through Bijapur, Kulbarga and Kopal, and descended on Chitradurga on March 16, 1726. Back from Chitradurga he swept through Harpanhalli and Gadag, and following a

¹ Rajwade, vol 11, p. 53, धोः शाः चः pp. 63-4.

western route, reached Satara on May 22, 1726. He spent the rainy season at Satara, and started on his second expedition on October 23, 1726. In this expedition he passed through a long region to Sheringapatam, levying contribution on Belgaum, Bednor and other districts, on the way, and after a stay of a month at Sheringapatam returned to Satara *via* Shirole and Kapshi about April 1727. Each time he was engaged for six months, and returned without gaining the advantages Shahu had anticipated.¹ For this reason Shahu demanded an explanation of Fateh Singh on his return to Satara as to why he did not remain in the Karnatak so that he might have brought it under his sway. Fateh Singh could not give a satisfactory answer. Baji Rao however promptly replied, that since they had not the order of the king, they did not dare to stay.² Shahu became pleased and dropped further enquiries. The campaign was not a success but it had created a number of enemies for Baji Rao and Shahu.

MARATHAS IN MALWA AND GUJRAT

Shambhujī had been mortally offended by the Peshwa's expeditions into the country between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, which he claimed for himself. Nizam-ul-Mulk who was not prepared to yield an inch of ground in the Karnatak had vowed vengeance on Baji Rao and his master. These two had made common cause and had drawn to their side others, who resented the ascendancy of Baji Rao. They were the Pratinidhi, Chandra Sen, Murarji Ghorepade, Udayi Chauhan, Rambhaji Nimbalkar and Trimbak Rao Dabhade. Their activities worried Baji Rao for a considerable period of his life, which he could have otherwise devoted to the welfare of Maharashtra. But if the Karnatak received scant attention from Baji Rao, not so were Malwa and Gujrat. It was his settled policy to raid these rich provinces of the north and levy contributions on them by force of arms. Malwa and Gujrat have been the link between Hindustan and the Deccan from time immemorial. No empire had been built in Northern India without the conquest of these two provinces, and no empire has lasted even for a few years, after these had fallen off. Indian history has

¹ Duff, vol. 1, p. 494.

² थो: शा: च: p. 65

recorded innumerable instances, from the earliest times, to this effect that the occupation of these provinces by a northern power has invariably led to his further expansion into the south; and by a southern power to its expansion into the north. The great Mughals had been actuated by this strong undercurrent of historical tradition and geographical law. And now when, these two provinces were overrun by the Marathas, it betokened ill most surely for the Mughal Empire and no less for Nizam-ul-Mulk

Malwa and Gujrat supplied food for the ambition of the Marathas even at the time of Rajaram and Tara Bai. Baji Rao overran Malwa first between 1722-23, and then between 1723-24.¹ Here he was substantially helped by the friendly interference of Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur. The latter was on intimate terms with Nandlal Mandloi Choudhury of Indore, who was a very influential zamindar and held all the fords of the Narmada. Jai Singh pressed him to take the side of Baji Rao. The Choudhury had been harassed by various Subahdars, and therefore willingly transferred his allegiance to the Marathas. It is stated on authority that Baji Rao, to whose share had been allotted the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the province, left his agent there when he raided it.² They were Ranoji Sindhe, Uday Pawar, and Malhar Rao Holkar. Between 1723 and 1724 Malhar Rao established his outposts round about Indore, and Uday Pawar occupied Dhar. By the middle of 1725 Raja Girdhar Nagar was appointed to Malwa, on account of the influence of Sawai Jai Singh, who was then the Governor of Agra Subah, and whose ulterior motive in securing this appointment for Raja Girdhar was to build a solid block of Hindu powers between the north and the south, between the Mughals and the Marathas, and thereby to foster the ascendancy of the Hindus (particularly of the Marathas). We will notice later on what friendly relations subsisted between Baji Rao and Jai Singh. Suffice it to say here, that Raja Girdhar did not act up to his advice, opposed his designs and coerced the powerful Choudhury of Indore in many ways. It drove the Choudhury into the arms of the Marathas who freed the country from the tyrannies of Raja Girdhar, and from the religious persecutions of the Muhammadans. Thus the entry of the

¹ Rajwade, vol. II. प्रस्तावना p. 15.

² Grant Duff, vol. I, p. 498.

Marathas into Malwa was made easy by the friendliness of Jai Singh and Nanda Lal Choudhury of Indore.¹

If in Malwa the Marathas were fortunate in getting staunch allies, who helped them to establish their power, in Gujrat they did so by force of arms. We have seen that as far back as 1719 Pilaji had established himself at Songad and levied contributions on behalf of the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade. The latter was getting old, and therefore his son Trimbak Rao often discharged the duties of his office, retaining Pilaji as his agent in Gujrat. In 1723 Pilaji built several forts in the Rajpipla country, and overran a portion of the Surat Sarkar. At the same time Kanthaji Kadam invaded the country by the orders of Shahu and realized similar contributions. 'Though before this occasional demands had often been made, A D 1723 was the first year in which the Marathas imposed a regular tribute on Gujrat'² A golden opportunity was offered to them after the transfer of Gujrat from Nizam-ul-Mulk to Sarbuland Khan (about the middle of 1725). Pending the arrival of the new governor, Shujaat Khan was sent as his deputy in advance. When Shujaat Khan came to take possession of Gujrat, Hamid Khan, the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk would not yield without a resistance. Helped by Kanthaji who had been secured on his side by Nizam-ul-Mulk Hamid Khan defeated and slew his antagonist, and ruled Gujrat in the name of the Nizam.³ In return for his help, the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over all the parganahs west of the Mahi, were granted to Kanthaji. When the news of Shujaat Khan's defeat and death reached Delhi, his brother Rustam Ali Khan, the Deputy Governor of Surat, was appointed Deputy Subahdar of Gujrat and was granted a requisition on Surat treasury for whatever money he needed to equip himself and drive out Hamid Khan. In his turn he made an alliance with Pilaji Gaikwad and proceeded to oust Hamid Khan.

Hamid Khan, supported by his ally Kanthaji, fought a battle at Aras,⁴ but owing to the latter's inactivity, he was defeated. But the Maratha allies of both the parties resolved to ruin Rustam Ali, who

¹ षष्ठसम्मेलनवृत्त pp 213-4.

² 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 304

³ *Surat Factory Diary*, vol 612, Letter No. 69

⁴ 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 305.

had been their bitter enemy, and actually cut him off at the battle of Pitlad. In return for this service Hamid Khan assigned the Chauth of the country north of the Mahi to Pilaji.¹ The news of Shujaat Khan's death and of Hamid Khan's grant attracted fresh bands of Maratha adventures and they flocked into the country as if to a promised land. Pilaji and Kanthaji came at the head of large armies, and laid siege to Cambay on the morning of April 5, 1725; but there arose a slight misunderstanding, which they hurriedly made up, and retired after levying a forced contribution.² Then entered Antaji Bhaskar from the side of Idar and besieged Vadnagar, which according to an old Gujrat proverb was with Umreth, in the Kaira district, looked upon as 'the two golden feathers of the kingdom of Gujrat.'³ He was bought off by the rich Nagar Brahmins of the place. Therefore the Marathas now 'spread wherever they liked far and wide in the 'parganah and collected sums by way of ransom, payments which 'they called Khândāni. At Sarkhej, the better class of the inhabitants 'immolated their wives and children in the mode known as Jauhar, 'while many hundreds of highborn women threw themselves into 'wells or ponds to avoid outrage.'⁴ This sort of affair continued intermittently, interrupted only during the rains when the Marathas withdrew to quarters, till on the arrival of Sarbuland Khan in December 1725, Hamid Khan fled away with his Marathas. But the Marathas returned after a short respite and harassed the Governor on all sides. After continued pressure, and great exertions they were driven across the Mahi. But they again appeared and again spread over the country in all directions burning and plundering wherever they went. At last sick of the interminable contest Sarbuland Khan bought them off on their own terms, and granted the Chauth on all the lands on the Ahmedabad side of the Mahi. Letters were written to all the officials to give entry to the Maratha collectors, and thus he hoped he had secured peace for the people by the end of 1726. But only 'a deceitful calm succeeded: the fall of the rain brought back the 'cheering green, and the beautiful province of Gujrat, which for 'hundreds of miles, may vie with the finest parkes of the nobles of

¹ 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, Irvine, vol. II, pp. 183-4.

² *Surat Factory Diary* Letters 69, 90, 91, 93 and 95.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part I, p. 307.

⁴ Irvine, vol II, pp. 183-4.

‘ England, was clothed in all its natural beauties, by rapid verdure and luxuriant vegetation. Tranquillity seemed to reign, where a short time before nothing was to be seen, but perpetual skirmishing.’¹ But this calm, this tranquillity was doomed to be disturbed ; for in 1727 Baji Rao deputed his agent into Gujrat and commissioned him to drive out Pilaji, Trimbak Rao’s agent. Thus were the ravages renewed, and Dabhade resented the step when Baji Rao went further and negotiated with Sarbuland Khan ‘ that if one-fourth and one-tenth shares in the revenue of the province were granted to him he would protect Gujrat from other invaders ’ the breach between him and the Peshwa was complete. Another enemy had thus been created by Baji Rao.

Since on all sides of Nizam-ul-Mulk were Baji Rao’s Marathas, plundering and ravaging the whole country between the Tungabhadra and the Mahi, Nizam could not keep peace. Two persons—Nizam and Shambhuji, whose interests suffered by the invasions of the Karnatak now made common cause against Baji Rao and opened a war, that lasted for about four years from 1727–31. To their number was added another Trimbak Rao, whose interests in Gujrat had been rudely interfered with, and who therefore could not forgive Baji Rao. So just as on all sides of the Nizam were Baji Rao’s Marathas, so on all sides of Baji Rao were Nizam’s allies.

¹ Grant Duff, vol. 1, p 493

(To be continued)

The Ajnapatra or Royal Edict

Relating to the Principles of Maratha State Policy

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINISTERIAL POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

KING'S ESSENTIAL PUBLIC FUNCTIONS

In the kingdom the organization of royal troops, of small and large forts, of cavalry and infantry, the removal of the afflictions of the people, the protection of the people, the inquiry into the prevalence of *Dharma* and *Adharma*, timely charity, regular distributions of fixed salaries, timely taxation from the people, and the storing of acquired things, a regular inquiry into the state income and expenditure, a resolve to do works great and small according to their importance after knowing their past and with an eye to their future, the meting out of punishment after considering the justice and injustice of a thing, and then determining its penalty according to *Śāstras*, the organization of means for removing the calamities of foreign invasion, receipt of news by appointing spies in all countries, the proper consideration of the duty of alliance, war and neutrality to another state upon any particular occasion, and the determination of action according to it, the protection of the existing kingdom and the acquisition of new territory, the proper observation of the important rules relating to female apartments and others, an increase of respect towards respectable men and the control of low-minded persons, the gaining of the favour of gods and good Brahmanas devoted to gods, and the destruction of irreligious tendencies, the spreading of the duties of religion, the acquisition of merit for the eternal world, and doing such other duties, these are certainly the functions of a king.

THE NECESSITY OF MINISTERS

But a king alone cannot, even if he wishes, perform all these functions. Therefore he has to appoint as his representatives ministers (प्रधान) in order to conduct the affairs of the kingdom. The affairs of the kingdom cannot at all be conducted without

ministers. Kings who lived in the past considering their own interests created ministers for bearing the burden of the kingdom, and bore the burden of the kingdom by increasing the respect of ministers as much as of themselves.

THEIR IMPORTANCE

Ministers are the pillars of the house whose name is kingdom. They are the chief means for the proper protection of the kingdom and also of creating a new one. A minister is one who spreads the king's power. A minister is the head charged with the duty of the protection of the people. A minister is a restraint on the sea of injustice born of the king's intoxication. A minister is like the goad of an elephant. Nay, a minister is the repose of the king in this world because of his administration of state affairs, and the light for the next world on account of his protection of religion. Kings have no other relations or things higher than ministers, of all the servants ministers should have the highest respect. Kings should appoint ministers possessed of good qualities, realizing fully that ministers alone are the king's true arms, that ministers alone are his relatives. The whole burden of the state should be placed on them. A minister is a chief officer (मन्त्रिकून). His influence should be considered more than that of all (others). Like the king's own orders all must be made to obey his orders. Small and great affairs of state should be done in consultation with him. In order that his greatness may be recognized by all, his word should be carried out on special occasions by the king, setting aside even his own wishes. He should not be made discontented for the sake of small things. From a servant earning five takkas ¹ (टक्का) to the minister is a successive gradation of importance of respect. The most worthy of all respect is the minister. It is not that this respect accrues to him suddenly. With great exertion this influence gets augmented gradually. But the strength (of this influence) does not rise again when faults are committed for small things, when bad speeches are made amongst ordinary people or when traditional forms of respect and superiority are abandoned. Then how will other people behave with him respectfully? When he does not command respect who will listen to him? If no one listens to him, how can the weight

¹ Either a rupee or an anna

of government be properly borne? If other ordinary unknown persons are employed in great works, a large number of days would be necessary for the growth of their influence. In the meanwhile until it is acquired, several works may be ruined.

QUALIFICATIONS OF MINISTERS

Therefore ministerships should be given after full consideration, judging the character of the person and assuring oneself that no danger would result therefrom. By appointing an increasing number of persons of good character and by seeing that they are well-versed in the affairs (of the state) a king may secure himself against error. The minister's position is not one of ordinary importance. It comes next to that of the king. To keep up that position the minister's virtues (qualities) should be equal to those of the king as stated above. Ministerships should be given to those who are possessed of such qualities as good birth, who are experienced, capable of understanding what is to be done and not to be done, versed in the *Śāstras*, proficient in royal duties (and) afraid of sin; who act after bearing in mind the nature of the relationship between the master and the servant, who are devoted to god, handsome, compassionate, brave, endowed with courage, rational, outspoken, not idle, inobstinate, free from vices, sinless, virtuous, industrious, knowing the past, looking to the future, creative, ungreedy, harmless, clever in determining their policy against enemies by using various expedients, such as conciliation, gift, discord, punishment, peace, war, and separation and alliance of allies. Those who are devoid of these qualities and are crippled, or are thieves and liars, should not be asked to undertake such work. They should not be asked to work in important offices like those of a minister; in this matter is there any doubt? It is proper that a well born, respected or noble, but hereditary servant whose ancestors have rendered great services should be encouraged. But he should be abandoned, if he is obstinate, unyielding in what he says, or possessing bad habits or getting aggrieved at the respect shown to another, and possessing a spirit of rivalry, in the manner in which only flowers are gathered from a thorny flower-tree and thorns are abandoned. He should positively be made to stay at home and another who is found fit should be taken in his stead from amongst his kinsmen. If a person is endowed with all good qualities and is found serving in an

ordinary rank, he should not be suddenly given a ministership on account of his special virtues. If one is found possessed of special virtues he should be given a ministership after promoting him gradually.

KING'S POLICY TOWARDS HIS MINISTERS

When one is appointed a minister, he should not at all be disrespected and insulted at every turn. If perchance due to force of circumstances, a minister were to do something improper knowingly or unknowingly, the king, keeping that in mind and not speaking about his fault in public nor allowing him or other servants to know that the fault is known to him, should cleverly make the minister see it so that he gives up his fault gradually. It is not possible to get at pleasure servants of a minister's rank. One should always be very careful about their self-respect. Then only would they bear the burden of state. With happiness of mind, with hope and without minding the efforts made, they would achieve much more. Ministers should be given agents who are endowed with the qualities stated before and who are devoted to their master and who carry out every work entrusted to them in all its details. Ministers should take work from them without harshness. If the servants are persons appointed on a minister's recommendation or are efficient workers, the king should of course take service from them by giving them work in every case (प्रत्येकवादे) according to their worth. Those persons should not at all be appointed to do work in the same place where those who have recommended them work. The protection of territories and forts is not possible without those warriors who acquire new territories. However if that authority is entrusted them alone, they would be found fit only for fighting work.

THE FUNCTIONS OF A MINISTER

To make others behave well by himself showing great regard for virtue and fear of sin, and by acting himself according to the proper relations that ought to obtain between a master and a servant, to administer the country according to laws with due regard after proper inquiry and the justice or injustice of an action, to administer justice according to the *Sastras*; these are the functions of a minister.

RELATION OF A MINISTER TO OTHERS

Therefore all the burden of the state the authority of territories and posts and administration should be entrusted to a minister. The generals of the army should be made to depend on him. In this way, if at times a general quarrels with a minister, there will be no difficulty at all about punishment. Nay, in all kinds of work one is a check on the other. On this account one feeling afraid of the other carries out regularly the laws laid down.

KING AND A MINISTER

The authority of the kingdom should be entrusted to a minister. However, it should not be so arranged that the king would come to know of his minister's administration and the state of territories, forts and army, only when the minister informs him. The king should be himself vigilant by employing persons, who are attached to him and are trustworthy, along with ministers in the territories, forts, and army, and by informing himself constantly from them or from his spies. In this way the king comes to know how they do their work and whether they act with justice or injustice and can punish them, without being deceived, then and there according to the measure of their offence. Offenders getting promptly punished remain where they are. Therefore it is very improper to entrust the whole burden of the state and the authority of punishment over all territories into the hands of one. Every minister and every general should be given different duties according to their ability. Kind inquiries should be personally made of all of them (by the king). In view of the work entrusted to them kings should supply them constantly with other necessities. They should be honoured in accordance with the work done, so that their hopes might increase and they might accomplish even difficult tasks in their anxiety to excel. Day by day then, like the crescent moon the kingdom would grow. If one alone is entrusted with the burden of the state others who are equal to him would become indifferent to state affairs; nay, would even become inclined to spoil the work done by him who takes the lead. The administration would suffer in consequence. Therefore an intelligent king should never order these things in this way.

CHAPTER V

COMMERCIAL POLICY

THE IMPORTANCE OF MERCHANTS

Merchants are the ornament of the kingdom and the glory of the king. They are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available come into the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich. In times of difficulties whatever debt is necessary is available. With its help danger is averted. There is a great advantage in the protection of merchants.

POLICY TOWARDS MERCHANTS

For this reason the respect due to merchants should be maintained. On no account should strong action be taken against them nor should they be disrespected. By making them establish shops and factories in market towns, trade should be maintained in elephants, horses, rich silks and cloths woven of gold and silver threads (जरमिनाजरबाब), clothes of wool (पगामो) and other kinds of cloth, jewels, arms and all other kinds of goods. In the capital-market great merchants should be induced to come and settle. Annually and during great marriage festivals and other occasions, they should be gratified by giving them presents of clothes and utensils. Those merchants who reside in foreign countries should be persuaded to come and settle. If they do not find the place favourable they should be kept pleased where they are, and by showing them kindness their agents should be brought and kept by giving suitable places for their shops. Similarly by sending an assurance of safety to sea-faring merchants at various ports they should be given the freedom of intercourse in trade.

FOREIGN EUROPEAN MERCHANTS. THEIR CHARACTER AND
POLITICAL AMBITION

Amongst the merchants the Portuguese (फिरंगी) and the English (इंग्रज) and the Dutch (डलंद) and the French (फरासीस) and the

Danes (डिंगमार?) and other hat-wearing (टोपोकर) merchants also do carry on trade and commerce. But they are not like other merchants. Their masters, every one of them, are ruling kings. By their orders and under their control these people come to trade in these provinces. How can it happen that rulers have no greed for territories? These hat-wearers (टोपोकर) have full ambition to enter into these provinces to increase their territories, and to establish their own opinions (religion). Accordingly at various places they have already succeeded in their ambitious undertakings. Moreover this race of people is obstinate. Where a place has fallen into their hands they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives.

POLICY TOWARDS THEM

Their intercourse should therefore be restricted to the extent of only their coming and going (for trade). They should strictly never be given places to settle. They should not at all be allowed to visit sea-forts. If some place has sometimes to be given for a factory, it should not be given at the mouth of an inlet or on the shores of the sea. If land is given in such places, it may be that they remain obedient as long as they like; they would, however, establish new forts at those ports at some time or with the help of their navy to protect them. Their strength lies in navy, guns and ammunition. As a consequence so much territory would be lost to the kingdom. Therefore if any place is at all to be given to them it should be given in the midst of two or four famous great towns distant about eight to sixteen miles from the mouth of the sea, just as the French (फरासोस) were given lands at Rājapur.¹ The place must be such that it must be low-lying and within the range and control of the neighbouring town so as to avoid trouble to the town. Thus by fixing their place of habitation factories should be permitted to be built. They should not be allowed to build (strong) permanent houses. If they live in this way by accepting the above conditions it is well; if not, there is no need of them. It is enough if they occasionally come and go, and do not trouble us; nor need we trouble them.

¹ A market town and inland post (not in the open sea) in the Southern Konkan where pepper and cardamom trade flourished. In 1649 English had opened a factory there. It was closed in 1682-1683.

POLICY TOWARDS THEM DURING WAR

When the country of the enemy is looted or during naval warfare, if merchants are captured they should be made to pay a fine after considering the circumstances. The realization of the amount of fine should be with the idea of preserving them. After it is paid some hospitality should be done to the merchants and they should be sent to their places with due respect. The punishment which is inflicted on the servants of the enemy is not proper for merchants.

CHAPTER VI

POLICY TOWARDS WATANDARS

THE ARMS AND METHOD OF WATANDARS

It is merely a language of common convention that Desamukhs¹ and Desakulkarnis,² Patils³ and other hereditary right-holders are to be called watandars.⁴ They are no doubt small but independent chiefs of territories. The weak manage to exist by rigidly maintaining the tradition of power though decreasing from the Emperor downwards. But they are not to be considered as ordinary persons. These people are really the sharers in the kingdom. They are not inclined to live on whatever watan⁵ they possess, or to always act loyally towards the king who is the lord of the whole country and to abstain from committing wrong against any one. All the time they want to acquire new possessions bit by bit, and to become strong, and after becoming strong their ambition is to seize forcibly from some, and to create enmities and depredations against others. Knowing that royal punishment will fall on them, they first take refuge with others, fortify their places with their help, rob the travellers, loot the territories and fight desperately, not caring even for their lives. When a foreign invasion comes they make peace with the invader with a desire for gaining or protecting a watan, meet personally the enemy, allow the enemy to enter the kingdom by divulging secrets of both sides,

¹ Hereditary officers, heads of Parganas.

² Hereditary officers, heads of mahals.

³ Hereditary officers, heads of villages.

⁴ Holders of any hereditary estate, office, right or due.

⁵ An hereditary estate, office, right, due.

and then becoming harmful to the kingdom get to be difficult of control. For this reason the control of these people has to be very cleverly devised.

KING'S POLICY TOWARDS THEM

But because these faults are found in them it would be a great injustice that they should be hated and that their wātans should be discontinued ; and on special occasions it would prove a cause of calamity. If, on the contrary, that is not done and these people are given freedom of movement, their natural (wild) spirit would immediately find play. Therefore both of these extreme attitudes cannot be useful in the interest of state policy. They have to be kept positively between conciliation and punishment. Their existing wātans should be continued, but their power over the people should be done away with. They should not be allowed to have any privileges or wātan rights without a state charter. Whatever has come down to them from the past should not be allowed to increase nor to become less even by a little, and they should be made to obey the orders of the authorities of the territory. A group of kinsmen or agents should not be allowed to remain jointly on the watan. After making inquiries, their kinsmen and agents should each be kept in distant provinces along with their families by giving them work according to their ability. They should not be allowed to get absorbed in their wātans. Watandars should not be allowed to build even strong houses and castles. If by chance there is found any one overbearing and unrestrained, he should be praised and sent to do that work which is difficult of achievement. In it if he succeeds or is ruined, both the events would be in the king's interest. If he is saved he should be given even more difficult work. Wātandars should not be allowed to quarrel amongst themselves. They should be well flattered. But there are established usages for their behaviour and they should not be allowed to transgress even a little. If infringed, immediate punishment should be inflicted. Looking to the position of wātandars and establishing every year or two, proper relations with them a king should weaken them by taking a little tribute and other things from them. When a wātandar who has not infringed the duties of his station is near him, a king should speak about him to other servants that he is virtuous, honest and attached to him, and similarly those

words which would give encouragement to him. If amongst the *waṭandars* there are honest persons, it is very difficult to get servants of their type. Firstly if a *waṭandar* be a person of reliability and in addition, if he be honest, he would become like a gold flower emitting good smell. Therefore such *waṭandars* should be gathered with great care ; favour should be bestowed on them, respect should be shown to them, royal service should be entrusted to them, nay, they should be kept to do important work.

CHAPTER VII

POLICY REGARDING HEREDITARY VRITTIS AND INAMS

POLICY TOWARDS VRITTI HOLDERS

It would be a great sin to confiscate *vrittis*¹ which may be great and small, but which have come down from ancient times. One's *vritti* should not at all be handed over to another, nor should it be appropriated by the king himself. If the *vritti*-holder commits a fault he should be punished according to law, but it would not be just to confiscate his *vritti*. If a great offence is committed which justifies the confiscation of a *vritti*, then after consulting the *Śāstras*² action should be taken in accordance with the *Śāstras*. The main idea is that the king should not at all cherish the low aim of appropriating the *vritti* of another justly or unjustly.

NO NEW *Vrittis*.

Similarly when servants and *vritti*-holders have done great service they should be given money, horses, elephants, clothes, ornaments and other things; if they are found fit, they should be told to do higher service, but should not be given a new *vritti*, for the reason that if a *vritti* be given out of public revenue, then the revenue would get less hereditarily by so much. Decrease of revenue leads to the decay of the kingdom, and to the loss of the wealth of the kingdom. Therefore those who are born in royal families should not allow any decrease in revenue to take place under the influence of flattery. If any additional burden is imposed on the people, then this

¹ Hereditary rights, office, profession or dues. ² Law-books.

new order causes the people extreme pain and they suffer and get troubled. To cause affliction to a large number of people for the good of one carries its own curse. Their curse is detrimental to welfare here and hereafter. Then the descendants of those to whom *vrutti* is given would not necessarily be like them. If by chance their descendants are actuated by wicked desires then they would be strengthened and supported by that *vrutti*. The result would be great lawlessness. Then it may truly be stated that kings themselves have permanently ruined the interest of the state. If the king's descendants confiscate the *vrutti* for an offence which is committed, then the descendants acquire the sin or demerit of taking back what was given by them. Moreover in this *Kali* age sin alone will increase day by day ; why, it is increasing at present. However these *vrutti*-holders are not at all afraid of sin. If those who are granted *vruttis* or their descendants begin to trouble the country with a desire for rapine and plunder, then the guilt of those crimes falls on the grantor of the *vrutti*. After taking into consideration all these dangers there should be no new *vrutti* given to any one.

NO NEW INAMS

Similarly it is a great injustice to give lands as *inams*¹ to servants or *vrutti*-holders for the purpose of achieving a task. A king, if he be an enemy of his kingdom should be generous in granting lands. A king is called the protector of land for the sake of preserving the land, but if the land be given away, over what would he rule ? whose protector will he be ? Even if a village or a piece of land be given for any special service rendered, still as long as the kingdom would last there would be work of administration to be done from generation to generation. There would also be servants who do those works. Therefore if grants of land were to be made to servants at the time when they do a work, then according to this it would happen that the whole kingdom would be granted away. Other distinct defects of this method have been pointed out in connection with the subject of *vrutti*. They also occur invariably. Therefore a king who wishes to rule a kingdom, to increase it and to acquire fame as one who is skilled in politics should not at all get infatuated and grant land

¹ Hereditary estates.

to the extent of even a barley corn (यवोदरप्रमाणे) To say that servants who have done service which is useful from generation to generation should be given something which would continue with them hereditarily is not proper. For when he becomes a servant and accepts salary, then it is his duty to do his master's work by making great exertion and daring, putting his heart and soul in it. However if one has done very meritorious service which could not have been done by others, then he should be given a higher service with a *waṭan* of salary attached to it, so that there would be no infliction on the people nor any decrease in public revenue.

GRANTS OF LANDS FOR *Dharma* PURPOSES

To give a gift of land for the purpose of maintenance of *Dharma* is an act of eternal merit. But this gift of land should be made after seeing the place, the time, and fitness, and after inquiring, according to *Śāstras* thoroughly into what is *dharma* and *adharma*. Grants of villages or lands should not be made to *jogis*, *jangams*, those disguised and others who adopt different garbs for their own ends, to those who can afford to wander about from place to place for alms, or to those who themselves are, or whose descendants can become, wicked and are promoters of evil ways of life; and in the same way to those who are opposed to their own religion, or are heterodox. Grants of revenue-free villages or land should be made at *Parvas*¹ and other auspicious times or in great holy places for the protection of the good to those *Brāhmanas* who are *Śrotrīs* (well versed in sacred lore), family men, and those well-conversant with the *Vedaśāstra*² and possessing no income of their own, and whose leaving the house for begging alms would lead to a loss, religious duties and merit. Similarly, villages or lands should be granted to great temples where divine presence is felt (जागृत), to hermitages of saints, to places of *samādhi*³ where for the purpose of worship, offerings, pilgrimages and other things distribution of food is regularly maintained. And after the grant is made, there should not be any desire to retake whatever may be the times of difficulty

¹ Holy days in lunar months

² The four Vedas and six Vedangas

³ A place where a *sanyāsi* or *sādhu* is buried.

and even in cases of danger to life ; on the contrary after remembering that worldly happiness is momentary and considering the fear of the other word, even a sipful of water from what is given should not be coveted even as a joke. The perils of those kings who are brave and afraid of sin of this nature are averted by God himself. However it is not that whatever is going to happen fails to happen by being sinfully disposed, nay, sinful disposition leads to the increase of evils only. Therefore a king should act in this way, after pondering well the meaning of what is stated above.

CHAPTER VIII

POLICY ABOUT FORTS AND THEIR CONSTRUCTION AND ORGANIZATION

THE IMPORTANCE OF FORTS

The essence of the whole kingdom is forts. If there are no forts, and when a foreign invasion comes, the open country becomes supportless, and the surrounding country becomes desolated, and the people get routed and broken up. After the desolation of the country what would be left to be called a kingdom ? Therefore kings who lived in the past first built forts in the country, and thus made the country permanently strong and averted successfully the danger of foreign invasion. This kingdom was created by the late revered and exalted Majesty,¹ with the possession of forts alone. Forts were built at suitable places in those parts of the country which would not come under his control. Similarly sea-forts were built. With their possession and help, and by making constant punitive expeditions, he acquired a thornless kingdom from Salheri-Ahivant to the banks of the Kaveri river. A great foe like Aurangzeb came and conquered the great states of Bijapur and Bhāgnagar. He struggled very hard against this kingdom for full thirty to thirty-two years. What was impossible for his efforts ? A portion of this kingdom remained, unconquered because there were forts in the country. Later came an opportunity to regain the former extent of the kingdom. Besides, it is necessary to protect the kingdom. All the forts and strongholds should be strengthened very carefully as stated above by personally

¹ Sivāji.

attending to their additional equipment. With great effort places suitable for forts should be captured in any new country which is to be acquired. A king should conquer gradually the country unprotected by forts and strongholds by building new fortified places from the boundaries of his kingdom onwards. Keeping the army under the protection of those places the country lying in front should be brought gradually under his own rule. Acting in this way he should increase his kingdom. If there is no protection of forts and strongholds the army cannot continue fighting in another's territory. Without an army one cannot enter another's territory. For all these reasons, the condition of the kingdom which is without forts and strongholds is like a covering of (passing) clouds. Therefore those who want to create a kingdom should maintain forts in an efficient condition realizing in mind that forts and strongholds alone mean the kingdom; that forts and strongholds mean the treasury, that forts and strongholds mean the strength of the army; that forts and strongholds mean the prosperity of the kingdom, that forts and strongholds mean our places of residence, that forts and strongholds mean our places of peaceful sleep; nay, that forts and strongholds mean our very protection of life. The desire for building new ones should be the aim of a king himself. No one else should be relied upon to do it.

THEIR ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The work of protection of forts and strongholds is very important. If the fortified place is endangered owing to Mamaledars¹ and other persons, who have to be kept to look after these very important places, committing treachery or showing cowardice when an enemy attacks them, or through carelessness, then so much of the kingdom with the fortified place is definitely lost. As a consequence the remaining places and the kingdom itself get molested. If a powerful foe comes, the officers-in-charge of other forts do harm to those forts, being influenced in their behaviour by the action of the officer whose fort is lost. That is, every blow falls on the kingdom. For these reasons, considering the protection of the kingdom as the main object of a ruler, their repair and administration should not be allowed to be neglected even in the smallest degree. On that

¹ Officers.

account the life of the fort is the Havaladar¹ of the fort himself; similarly is the chief Sarnobat,² they must be chosen by the king himself and must not be retained on the recommendation or flattery of any one. Such men should be kept who are well known Marathas and soldiers, who would care for their reputation, who have their families, who are trustworthy, industrious, non-covetous and wakeful, who exact properly their master's work from all by keeping them satisfied, and who consider that the fort is the dearest treasure entrusted to them by their master, and who do not allow it to be endangered as long as they are alive, who obey fully the rules laid down, and who do their day's duty during the day and their night's duty during the night, and, without becoming idle, protect all the strongholds by making every effort. Similarly the officers Sabnis³ and Karkhanis⁴ who are the promoters of the laws laid down by the king and are the judges of all good and bad actions, and who are also high authorities like Havalgars and Sarnobats, should act (like them) by making all act in the same way. Therefore they should be employed after seeing that they possess the same qualities and are good writers, trustworthy and frank. Similarly Tatsarnobat,⁵ Bargirs,⁶ Naikwadi,⁷ and Rajputs⁸ should be entertained after judging whether they are brave, have families, and are trustworthy. A Rajput of ten *Takkas* who is to be appointed in the fort should not be appointed without a royal *sanad*. Persons who are to be appointed for service in the fort should not at all be kept in service if they are unsteady, thievish, murderous, capricious, fond of drinking and of intoxicating drugs, addicted to the use of Bhang and perfidious. Those who are to be appointed should be entertained only on assurance of their good character. Even then after three years a Havaldar should be transferred, after four years a Sarnobat, after five years a Sabnis and Karkhanis, and to these posts should be sent persons fit for the posts

¹ The chief officer of the fort. He had the keys.

² The officer who kept watch over the fort.

³ The officer-in-charge of the accounts in general and the muster roll in particular.

⁴ The officer who was to look after store of grain and war material, i.e. commissariat work.

⁵ Officers looking after rampart walls.

⁶ Cavalry soldiers equipped with horse and arms by the state.

⁷ The officer commanding or the leader of infantry units of nine soldiers.

⁸ Mercenary Rajput soldiers.

and similarly well qualified. By pleasing them according to their nature, by keeping them in his company for some days, and again by purifying by personal association their faith in the maintenance of proper relations between the master and servant if it is ever contaminated, without letting them know about it, they should be given other work according to their ability. Similarly Tatsarnobats and Bargirs should be renewed. Naikwadi, and Rajputs, if they are found guilty or good workers, should be removed and punished or promoted as is necessary. If the Havaldar of the fort dies whilst doing Sarnobat's work that work should not be entrusted to his sons or relations. His sons and relations should be consoled by giving them other work according to their ability. The relations of the Sardars (officers) of the cavalry, or the persons recommended by them, should not be positively entrusted with the work of the forts. Similarly if there are one, two, three relations belonging to one family who are well versed in the management of forts, then the work of forts has necessarily to be entrusted to them. For it is very difficult to get men for work in forts. But they should not be placed in forts which are near each other. They should be given work and made to serve in distant forts, from where one is not able to join hands with others, and between which there are other forts. Desamukhs, Desapandes,¹ Patils, Kulkarnis,² Chawgules³ and other hereditary *watandars* who occupy the territory lying round about a fort should not be given service on the forts near it. They should be employed on forts which are ten or five villages distant from their *watan*. If the *wafan* and a nearby service get joined together, then a *watandar* would not do well in his service and would go time after time to his home; nay, at times with a greed for his *watan*, divulging secrets of the place he would even betray it. Therefore persons living near by the fort should not be employed in the fort. If whilst performing the duties of the fort they are found to have committed robberies and murders, bribery, quarrels, delay and idleness and other offences, they should be removed without waiting for the end of the term according to the usual practice and before the term of service is completed. Punishment should be meted out according to the offence committed. For that post other brave persons fit for the post should be appointed.

¹ Hereditary officers of a mahal

² Hereditary village accountants

³ Village officers.

If it is reported that the officer of the fort or any one else is harbouring an evil desire of betraying the place, then without trying to find out first whatever is true or false, without attributing it to rumour, without putting him on his guard, and by immediately finding means of not allowing the matter to slip out of his hand, and without allowing any one to know about it, the man should be removed and brought near himself. When he has come into the royal presence, he should be judged justly, and if the charge is proved against him then he should be immediately beheaded without showing any kindness. And his head should be shown on every fort. A drum should be beaten proclaiming that that was the punishment for those who committed such offences. After proper and just inquiry if he is found innocent, then he should be conciliated in many ways so that the stigma in his mind of having been removed from his post may be wiped out. But he should not be again sent back to his own post. By giving him his pay and keeping him in royal presence for four or six months he should be sent to do some other work which is suitable to him. Moreover, a person who is brought from a place on account of true or false defamation, if found innocent according to law and judgment, should not be sent again to do that work. If found truly guilty, he should be punished according to the offence committed. If the fort is besieged by an enemy, the place should be protected by fighting daily from the fort as long as the provisions and help last. When the provisions are exhausted, the supply of men is stopped and the state of extremity is reached, still a king should save the *mamaledars* and other persons, and get them out by using all means in his power. If it happens that the king's help does not reach, then the *mamaledar* and other people should positively die fighting. The king should maintain his (*mamaledar's*) children in all ways. But as stated above, if the extremity is reached, it should never be done that they should, by consulting amongst themselves, yield the place and save their lives. The face of an officer who acts in this way should not be seen, and he should be made to sit at home by not asking him again to serve. Even if any one makes an application on his behalf he should not be allowed to do so, and treating him as written above, means should be used to regain the place by making a strong demand on him for the place. When he is making efforts, if means are not found to get back the place, and as a consequence,

if it is found that he gets ashamed and afraid, then on the recommendation of a minister who makes a petition on his behalf he should be told to work near the king by allowing the petition and by admitting him into royal presence. Then gradually he should be promoted. If any officer in charge seeing the place endangered gives it to the enemy and saving his life goes over to the enemy, an attempt should be made to capture him. If he cannot be captured, he should be killed by using all possible means. In spite of all these means if he does not return from the enemy, his children should be enslaved, his women should be treated as slaves, and he also should be killed by every effort then there and by using poison, assassins and other means. Even if it happens that provisions get exhausted, help is stopped and the king is unable to go to his help, and in extremity the officer-in-charge giving the fort to the enemy goes over to the enemy, the persons in his family should be restrained similarly. As has already been stated in the beginning he should take all the steps necessary. If he comes under an assurance of safety then his children should be allowed to go, he should be made to sit at home, and should not be allowed to use means to recover the place even if he wishes, and on some excuse or other no work should ever be given him even after several days. Service in the fort is very difficult and Government must be very strict, if not properly governed the administration of forts would become very weak. This should not at all happen. The administration of forts should not at all be entrusted to persons, who are his kinsmen, relations, or those recommended by him. If they commit any fault one feels constrained to punish them. If proper punishment is not given, others find excuse to petition on their own behalf, and thus influence leads to the increase of influence and the established laws are broken. This very thing is the cause of the ruin of the kingdom. For this purpose the breach of laws should not at all be allowed. The chief means for the protection of the kingdom is forts.

THEIR CONSTRUCTION

They should be built on sites chosen in every part of the country. There should not be a higher point near the fort amongst the surrounding hills. If there is one, it should be brought under the

control of the fort by pulling it down with the use of mines. If it cannot be pulled down with the help of the mines, then that place should not be left uncontrolled but should be built and strengthened. The building of the fort should not be taken up to meet only a temporary need. Ramparts, towers, approaches by sap and mine, watches, outer walls, should be built wherever necessary. Those places which are vulnerable should be made difficult by every effort with the help of mines, and the weakness of the fort should be removed by building strong edifices. Gates should be built in such a way that they should escape bombardment from below, and they should have towers in front which would control the paths of egress and ingress. To have one gate to the fort is a great drawback. Therefore, according to the needs of the fort, one, two, or three gates and similarly small secret passages should be provided. Out of these those which are always necessary for usual intercourse should be kept open and other doors and outlets should be built up. Those officers and others who are to be kept in charge of fortifications should be clever, experienced and active. The fortifications of the fort should be made strong. There are several classes of forts which can be built on every mountain. Several mountains are very great. After locating some point on the mountain, it should be fortified. If there is a plain land in front of its gates or under the walls of the fort, then it is called a castle on the plain (भुईकोट). The result in such a case is that the invading enemy can immediately reach the gates or the walls of the fort. Therefore round a fort of this type should first be dug, whatever the effort, a deep and wide moat in front of its gates, under the rampart wall and to the extent of the plain, and at the bottom of the rampart another wall should strongly be built and on it big guns and small guns should be placed so that no enemy force can reach the sides of the moat without difficulty. The approaches to the fort should not be easy of access. If they are easy of access they should be destroyed, and by growing a thicket of trees such paths should be constructed as it would make very difficult for a foreign army to approach any other side. Besides this, secret paths must be kept in order to escape in time of danger. At times by using the same outlet or gate (सांजबादा) should be mounted. The protection of forts depends on the trees of Kalārgī (कलारगी). Its thickness should

be increased by every efforts. Out of it not a single stick should be allowed to be cut. Against times of danger soldiers and musketeers should be placed in that thicket. They should be fit to do this work. There should always be outposts round forts. There should be patrolling by sentinels of the environs of the fort. The reply to the watches should be given by the watch-guards of the outposts. There should not at all be a strongly built house at the bottom of the fort, or a stone enclosure round any house. Moreover after first finding out if there is water in the place then a fort should be built. If there is no water, and if it becomes necessary to fortify the place, then by breaking the rock, reservoirs and tanks with water sufficient to last till the rainy season for the whole fort should be built on the supposition that there is a spring of water in the fort and that it would somehow or other supply enough water. One should not wholly depend upon it. For during fight springs get dried up owing to the noise of guns and hence arises the difficulty (of water). Therefore for storing water two or four reservoirs should be constructed. Water from them should not be allowed to be spent. The water in the fort should be well protected. On the fort, excepting the royal residence, no well-built house should be constructed. The walls of the royal residence should be built of bricks and should be thickly plastered with chunam. No cracks in the house should be allowed to remain where rats, scorpions, insects, and ants would find a place. The compound round the house should be of thinly planted Nirgudi (निरगुडी) and other trees. The officer in charge of the fort (fort-keeper, गडकरी) should not keep the house unoccupied because it is the royal residence. By occupying it and by smoking it for all times it should be seen that the house remains in good condition and that no life or insect infests it. When it is known that the king is coming to the fort, the officer-in-charge should come two or four days previously, and by personally supervising the besmearing with cowdung and the decorating the whole house with Rangoli (रंगोली) and other things he should stay at that place by making it his head quarters till the king arrives at the fort. No rubbish should be allowed to fall on the roads, in the market place and near the walls of the fort. With a warning not to throw the accumulated rubbish down the fort, and by burning it in places (where

it is accumulated), and by putting the burnt ashes in the backyard vegetables should be made to grow in every house. In order that all granaries and storehouses of military provisions in the fort should be free from troubles of fire, rats, insects, ants, and white ants, the floor should be paved with stones and chunam. Tanks (cisterns) should be made on cliffs of forts in places where there is black rock having no cracks. If there is even a small crack, it should be seen that by applying chunam no leakage takes place. By building chunam houses where the ground is fit for chunam work, oil and ghee should be stored there in vessels of china-clay and earthen vessels of bellying mould (झोलमाठ) kept on strong stands. The powder magazine should not be near the house or near the compound of the house. It should be built at an appropriate distance from the chief place and be surrounded by thick enclosure of Nīrgudī and other trees. It should have an underground cellar. There should be only *chunam* work in the cellar. In it bags and vessels of gunpowder should be heaped on rick-stands. Rockets, grenades and other explosives should be kept in the middle portion of the house. They should not be allowed to get damp. After every eight or fifteen days the Havaladar should visit it, and taking out powder, rockets, grenades and other explosives and drying them, seal them again after storing them. Guards should always be kept to protect the powder magazine. They should keep awake day and night during their watch period, and no person should be allowed to approach near them without permission. For the sake of the guns and matchlocks which are necessary for the protection of the fort, soldiers and matchlockmen should be kept. Tatsarnobat, Bargir, Chief Sarnobat and Havaladar should practise firing matchlocks and guns. All soldiers should possess arms, namely, swords and missiles (टाकणी). On all the vulnerable places in the fort, big guns, small guns, and charakyas¹ and (चरक्या) other machines suitable for those places and also for higher places, should be mounted on platforms on every bastion and rampart wall at suitable intervals. The *charaks* and big guns should be kept on gun-carriages after testing the weight of the guns and by giving them strong iron-rings as supports.

¹ An iron tube filled with powder and fastened to a staff

Bags of powder, iron-bars, brushes for cooling guns, balls, and other iron filings, small or great river-stones of the size of beetel-nuts, Palākhās (पलख) of rockets, matches, of guns, tarafas (तरफा), tools for repairing the touchholes of guns, and other things necessary for gun-firing should always be kept ready near guns. Iron and stone materials should be kept at a distance from gunpowder. Grenades and rockets should be kept ready at every watch. The officer in charge who says that there is no enemy in the intervening country and that when he comes he will get ready by bringing things from storehouses, is foolish and idle. Such an one should not be entrusted with work. He should act according to orders blindly and alertly even if there is no occasion; and then when the real occasion comes there is no possibility of danger. Thus the rules which are laid down continue to be observed uninterruptedly. In the rainy season guns and doors should be besmeared with oil and wax, and by filling the touchholes of guns with wax and by putting front covers on guns sufficient for covering their mouths they should be protected from getting spoiled. Other things should be kept safe so as not to allow them to get damp. Though the work of building is already finished at the time, still those walls, watch towers, bastions, ramparts which get impaired have constantly to be repaired. Trees which grow on fort-walls have to be constantly cut down. After burning the grass growing on the wall and down near the wall, the fort has to be cleared and cleaned. For this purpose a *Karkhāna* (department) of building works should always be kept on every fort and at a proper place, and it should be entrusted to the *Mudradhārī* (मुद्राधारि) or the keeper of the seal. Similarly gunners who are trustworthy and are family men, who shoot accurately and are brave should be appointed as many as are necessary for the fort and the fort-guns. Trees which are on the fort should be protected. Besides them, jack-trees, tamarind-trees, banyan trees, pīmpal trees, and other big trees, lemon trees, orange trees, and other small trees; similarly, flower trees, creeping-plants, nay, useful and useless trees which are likely to grow should be planted in forts and protected. In time of need all of them would serve as wood. In every fort *Brāhmaṇas*, astrologers, *vaidiks*, the learned, also physicians who are versed in mineral medicines and those in herb-medicines, surgeons, exorcists, wound-dressers, and black-smiths, carpenters, stonemiths and cobblers should be engaged in

ones or twos according to the needs of forts. They are not always required on small forts. Therefore their implements of work should be kept ready with them. Where there is work (suited to them) they should go and work ; when there is no work they should be asked to do work according to requirements. They should not be allowed to be idle. In every fort salary, treasury, military provisions, and other kinds of articles necessary for forts should be collected and stored. While remembering well that forts would not at all be useful in the absence of this arrangement, the administration of the fort should be carried on as detailed above.

CHAPTER IX

NAVAL POLICY

IMPORTANCE OF NAVY

Navy is an independent limb of the state. Just as a king's fame for success on land is in proportion to the strength of his cavalry, so the mastery of the sea is in the hands of him who possesses the navy. Therefore a navy should necessarily be built.

ITS CONSTRUCTION AND STRENGTH

Fast *gurabs*¹ (गुरब), neither very great nor very small should be built and should be of middle size. Similarly *galabats*² (गलबत) should be built. It is not necessary to build them very large ones (वारसे जागीता?) as these are not useful without the help of wind. Even if one or two are made to create dread in the enemy, still whatever naval force is created should be fully and well equipped (सदुते?) with brave and efficient fighters, guns, short guns, matchlocks, ammunition, grenades and other material of naval use.

ITS ORGANIZATION

Each of them should be arranged in separate units. Every unit should contain five *gurabs* and fifteen *galabats*. Over all of them there should be one head governor or admiral (सरसुभा). All should

¹ Large deep sea vessels.

² Large row boats built like the *gurabs* but of smaller dimensions.

obey him. For the expenses of the navy the revenue of a particular territory should be apportioned. Commerce will be ruined if the expenses are defrayed out of the income derived from ports, and merchants will be troubled. Harbours should be well protected, otherwise in cases of need necessary and useful things could not be brought from foreign places. If this happens then what remains of the prestige of the kingdom? There would be a loss of customs duties and other income. Owing to loot and destruction of the poor there would be an increase of unlimited sin. There would be an uncontrolled behaviour of naval servants. Therefore if the expenses of the navy be paid from the revenues of the state, such unrestrained acts would not take place. If it be objected that the state cannot bear always such heavy expenses of the navy, then the naval force should be maintained in proportion to what it can bear. Trade should be increased. Trade will cause the growth of the income of customs. A large fleet should not be made to depend on it. In this way a fleet should be gradually built up, naval forces should check the enemy by always moving in the sea, *सोमाजवादा* (?) of the sea-fort should be regularly given. No complaint of the officer of the sea-fort should be allowed to reach the king. By keeping oneself always informed of the movements of the sea-foes the territory of the enemy should be looted. By keeping watch efforts should be made to secure the places of the enemy.

POLICY TOWARDS MERCHANT SHIPS

In the sea *tarandi*,¹ ships of kolis² and merchants should be protected and allowed to move. Kolis and merchants should not be troubled. If any one gives them any trouble it should be warded off. If the ships of foreign merchants, besides those of the enemy, not possessing permits are coming and going, then they should not be allowed to move without inspection. By taking them under control, by using conciliation and intimidation, without touching any of their goods and by giving them an assurance of safety they should be brought to the port. In many ways naval authorities and territorial authorities should conciliate them. They should be allowed to take what wood and water they want to take. It should be made easy for them to purchase

¹ A sailing vessel of large dimensions.

² Fishermen class.

tender cocoanuts and other things which they want. Besides this they should be allowed freely to sell and to purchase what they desire, after taking from them a little by way of customs duty. If there is a great merchant he should be treated a little more hospitably according to his importance on behalf of the government (Dewan). The expenses incurred should be taken from the revenue office as an item of expenditure. An effort should be made to see that the foreign merchant feels assured in every way and attracted and enters into commercial intercourse with the kingdom. If any merchant ships coming from the hostile territory are found in the sea they should be captured by making great efforts, brought to the ports and without causing the goods the least damage everything should be attached, and the officers of the Mahal and the naval officers should inform the king about the matter and should act according to his orders.

NAVAL FIGHT

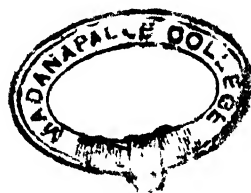
If the navy and the hostile ships meet each other and begin fighting all should strive to join in the fight. The enemy should be put on the leese (दुर्भागी) and be fought against. Owing to the force of the wind if the enemy does not fall on the leese and we fall on the leese and our ship is not able to move with the help of the wind, then, whatever may be our strength, without coming into contact with the enemy and gradually cutting off our contact from the enemy, our fleet should be brought under the protection of a sea-fort. The safety of ships and sailors should never be risked. Whilst protecting ourselves the enemy should be captured. If the enemy by falling on the leese succumbs and is exhausted, still no rash attack should be attempted. By surrounding him on all sides he should be fired at from shipguns. A treacherous enemy knowing that he is exhausted takes perfidiously under a false pretext a promise of safety. Therefore he should not be called near. He disables the ships by firing on his own पायाळ (?) or on that of those which are called near. Therefore without putting trust in him, even if he seeks a promise of safety, it should be given from a distance, and then his great officers should be brought in his own great boats near our own ships. Then our men should be made to go on his ships. Otherwise without caring for the goods and by breaking the ships under gun-fire dread should be created amongst the enemy.

THE SHELTERING OF NAVAL SHIPS

If the sheltering of the ships is to be done it should be done a week or two before the rising of storms. That also should never be done in the same port or under the protection of any sea-fort or in the open sea. If sheltering is done every year at one and the same port, the men of the fleet, however often warned, are sure to give a great deal of trouble to the same part of the country. This must be avoided. This should not be allowed to happen. If the sheltering is done in the open sea then for the very sake of sheltering the ships have to be drawn out on the shore. Consequently the sheltering being on the shore, and the enemy being perfidious, he would stealthily and secretly cause fire by sudden surprise. This should not be allowed to happen. The sheltering should be done only in fortified ports. Still it is possible that men of the fleet who are many and who are generally Muhammadans and arrogant, would, getting into some discussion, get into quarrel and cause injuries amongst themselves. Sometimes in secretly fixed places treachery may take place without one's knowledge. This is not desirable. For these reasons the sheltering of the navy should be done every year in a different port which has got a fort facing the sea. On account of the fear of the fort the enemy would not enter the creek of the sea. Or if the creek is near, the sheltering of the fleet should be done inside the creek. Then also the whole fleet should not be kept in one place. The fleet should be distributed in various places. In the night patrolling both by creek and by land should be done round about the fleet. The subhedar while staying there with his family for two months should look after the arrangement of the fleet. He should write to the central government for getting the necessary things and should make arrangements for the same. Disorder should not at all be allowed to take place in the territory. For ships of the navy are necessary planks, beams, masts and such other logs of wood. With royal permission useful parts of teak and other trees which are in the forests of the kingdom should be cut and collected. Besides this, whatever is necessary should be purchased and brought from foreign territories. Wood of mango tree, jack tree, and other trees growing in one's own kingdom is useful for binding naval ships but they should not be touched. For these trees are not grown in a year or two. People have grown these trees by looking after them as after their children and by protecting

them. If those trees are cut there will be no limit to their grief. If one says that one would achieve one's object by causing grief to another, then the temporary advantage resulting to the doer of that work is ultimately lost completely. Nay, the king incurs the sin of causing trouble to the people. In the absence of these trees there is even loss. For these reasons these things should not be allowed to happen. Even when a tree is greatly worn out and is of no use, then by getting the consent of its owner and by paying him for it, it should be cut without displeasing him. Force should not at all be used.

In this way the body of royal troops, forts and strongholds should be maintained with great vigilance. In no way should the service of Her Majesty the Queen Mother be neglected. Whatever service you do will be duly recognized, and His Majesty has given full authority to you; and while deserving this well-known fame, you should do that which will increase daily the incomparable favour which His Majesty has conferred on you. Having succeeded in the whole undertaking His Majesty is coming to this province. Then in consultation with you all the rules and regulations relating to several other important departments which have been found to be useful from generation to generation to the prosperous growth of the kingdom, which are a means of attaining success in this and in the other world and in which there is an all-sided fame, would be laid down according to the principles of justice.



The Khazā'inul Futuh

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU

CHAPTER I

PREFACE

This book, which contains an account of victories, has been given the title of 'Khazā'inul Futūh' from Heaven. ¹ All praises are for the Opener, who opened the gates of victories for the religion of Mohammad and raised his helpers high with Divine assistance. Exalted is His Dignity and Supreme His Kingdom! And blessings on the Prophet of the Sword, who with a sign cut open the moon and the breast, and showed with conclusive proofs. 'And Allāh did certainly assist you at Badr.'² And peace to his Family and his pious Companions, who woke up the sleepers with the tongue and the sword. May love for them never cease to cling to our hearts even as victory clings to the sword of the pious Sultān of the world! After praises of God in all sincerity, and of the Prophet in particular, the treasury of praises is not deserved by any one except the august Emperor. It will be right if I said in his praise, that he is the exalted sun which illuminates the moon. And he is the Sultān of the monarchs of the earth, more brilliant than the sun and moon when they rise! The 'shadow of God' over the heads of men! The protector of all creatures from the vicissitudes of time! The crystal sphere of excellence! The exalted sun! 'Alāuddunyā waddīn! The equal of the sun and moon on high! The light of both the worlds in darkness etc., etc. Adorned with every exalted virtue, Mohammad Shāh, the Sultān! May God cast his shadow over all things so long as the clouds drop dew over the earth from on high '³

¹ Allusions to victories

² The Qurān, chap. III, sect. 13, refers to a famous battle of the Prophet

³ Persian doxologies are usually very florid and the 'Khazā'inul Futūh' is no exception. I have omitted a few sentences from this paragraph. It does not come within the scope of these notes to explain intricate literary allusions, which have no historical significance.

¹ The panegyrist of the 'Alāi Empire, the servant Khusrau, states that however high his pen may raise its feet and crawl through all the regions of black and white, it is unable to pass the first stage of the Emperor's praise. But as it was written in the Book of Creation that the pen, which eulogises the Emperor, should come within my fingers 'like the shooting-star within the crescent or the sun in its constellation,' Divine kindness, the key to unlimited blessings,—'and for Allāh are the treasures of Heaven and Earth'—opened to me the gates of His treasures. Gems such as had never been bestowed on Bakhtari and Abū Tamām were showered on my pages; though every one of them was such as Venus could not afford to purchase, yet none was worthy of being used in praise of the celestial monarch. Nevertheless, since more precious gems were not to be found in the human mind, as a matter of necessity I strung these in order, expecting that *the Emperor will be an ocean of mercy, which throws out nothing that falls into it.*

² I believed that my crooked words, like the offerings of an ant before Solomon's throne³ (May it rule for ever over men and *jins*!) will be accepted, for every poem I present to the Emperor, though it be nothing else but a dried up river, is yet filled with water through the stream of his kindness, and, aided by the favourable current, the boats of my mind can float through all the regions of land and sea. Having been drowned in his favours in the past, I am emboldened to proceed further, and having often dived in oceans of poetry and brought out heaps of pearls, I also wished to adorn some pages of prose for the high festival. *And even like the effect of the sun on precious stones, the Emperor's look will turn them into things of value.* As my pen, like a tirewoman, has generally curled the hair of her maidens in verse and has seldom shown them in pages of prose, she raises her grateful face to the Emperor. 'May the august eyes disregard my defect.'⁴

¹ Allusions to authorship

² Allusions to prose and verse

³ I e., the throne of Sultān 'Alāuddīn. He is referred to under the names of past monarchs at various places in the book. For the mysterious beings called *jins* see the *Qurān*, chap. lxxii, and for the story of Solomon and the ant, chap. xxvii, sect. 2.

⁴ 'Poetry was Amīr Khusrau's mother tongue, prose he wrote with great difficulty and effort.'

¹ If the stream of my life was given the good news of eternal existence, even then I would not offer the thirsty any drink except the praises of the Second Alexander.² But as I find that human life is such that in the end we have to wash our hands off it, the fountain of my words will only enable the reader to moisten his lips. Since the achievement of my life-time, from the cradle to the grave, cannot be more than this, I did not consider it proper to plunge to the bottom of endless oceans but contented myself with a small quantity of the water of life. ³ The mirror of the Second Alexander⁴ is such that, if totally illuminated, its images cannot be contained by the looking glass of the sky. How, then, can they appear in the rust eaten mind of his servant? Still somethings, which I have, I will show according to the capacity of my imagination and in such a way as I can,—so that if critics have any doubts about my talents, such doubts may be removed. I hope that when this spotless mirror, in which his virtuous existence has been portrayed, comes before the eyes of the Second Alexander, he will compare it with the original, if it is well constructed and its images are correct, he will place it among his select courtiers, but, if from inartistic or crooked execution, there is anything in it contrary to the picture of fire, he will signify so, in order that I may correct it so far as possible. I hope, however, that he will not turn away his face from it, for then my images will vanish as if they had never been. *But I know that a mirror constructed in the reign of Alexander can never be crooked.* ⁵ In this book, known as the *Khazāinul Futūh*, I have only narrated one out of a hundred events from the conquest of Deogir to the conquest of Arangal. It will be seen in this 'Chapter of the Iron'⁶ what Hindū kingdoms have disappeared from the face of the earth, and how far the 'Word of Light' has overcome the 'darkness of infidelity', so that the success of the Faith may be estimated from the light and the smoke. May the kindness of the Merciful bless the Emperor!

¹ *Allusions to water.*

² 'Alāuddin, as Barni tells us, had assumed the title of the "Second Alexander", it is found in his inscriptions and on his coins.'

³ *Allusions to the mirror.*

⁴ The mirror of the First Alexander was supposed to have been made by Aristotle and placed on the top of a tower constructed at Alexandria.

⁵ *Allusions to the word of God.*

⁶ Title of chap. lvii of the Qurān.

¹ I will also narrate some events of the reign of this Caliph, who is Mohammad in name, Abū Bakr in truthfulness, and Umar in justice. I will show how, like 'Uṣmān, he has brought the benevolent words of God into the book of realization, how like 'Ali he has opened the gates of knowledge in the City of Islām, Delhi, with the key of his favour. Through his munificence, which flows like the Tigris, he has raised this Imperial City to the greatness of a new Baghdād. The Abbāsīde standards, which had fallen down owing to great cataclysms, he has in his Caliphate again raised upon foundations of justice.² Through the exercise of his strong judgment, he has maintained peace in the countries of the world. And in all matters he has sought the aid of, and held fast to Allāh. Strange is his prosperity, for God holds his wishes in special regard¹ For instance, fire is killed by water the moment the two are united, yet if it crosses his mind that the two elements should be married, the Dīwān-i-Quzā will at once perform the ceremony³. The powers of nature are so much under his orders, that though the earth is desolated by the wind and the wind is dusty with the earth, yet if he gives the sign, the twain will be united and the guardians of the atmosphere will turn the wind into water and mix it with the earth. *If his mind so desires, it is not impossible that opposites should be made to meet*¹

CHAPTER II

ACCESSION, REFORMS AND PUBLIC WORKS

Here begins the 'Khazā'inul Futūh,' every gem of which is a lamp for the soul. ⁴ When the breeze of Divine favour began to blow over the wishes of the youthful monarch, not a hundredth part of whose good

¹ *Allusions to the Caliphs of Islām.* The first caliph, Abū Bakr, was reputed for his truthfulness, the second, Umar, for his stern justice, the third, Uṣmān, collected the chapters of the Qurān, and the fourth, 'Alī, was famous for his learning and courage

² The Abbaside Caliphate had been crushed by the Mongol barbarians. Baghdād itself had been sacked by Halāku Khān in A. D. 1258 and the sole surviving scion of the dynasty of Hārūn Rashīd had fled for refuge to Egypt.

³ Muslim marriages required the presence and the certificate of the Qāzī or state law-officer. The *Dīwān-i-Quzā* was the Imperial Department of Justice, presided over by the *Sadrus Sudūr* or the Head Qāzī of Delhi.

⁴ *Allusions to the spring.*

fortune has been yet realized (May God always strengthen his branches!), many victories blossomed on his sword and spear from the Bihār¹ of Lakhnauti to the Bihār of Mālwa. He grew like a tree in the territory of Karra by the bank of the Ganges and threw out his branches (so wide) that he attained to the dignity of the 'Shadow of God'.² Wherever in the forest or by the bank of the river, there was a *mawās*,³ whether in cultivated land or wilderness, he trod it underfoot with his army. Then on Saturday, the 19th Rabi'ul Aḥir, A.H. 695 he moved towards the garden of Deogīr, from which direction the spring comes, and striking its branches like a storm, cleared them of their leaves and fruits. Rām Deo, a tree of noble origin in that garden, had never before been injured by the tempestuous wind of misfortune, but (the Sultan) in his anger first uprooted him and then planted him again, so that he once more grew into a green tree. Next, loading his elephants with precious stones as the rainy season clouds (are laden with water), and placing bags of gold, more in quantity than the *saman-i-zar*⁴ that grows on the earth, over Bactrian camels and horses⁵ swift as the wind, he arrived in Karra-Mānikpūr on the 28th of Rajab, A.H. 695. Now that black-headed *bulbul*, the pen, sings by its scratchings on paper of the accession of this tall cypress to the throne. From the first day of his accession till now, A.H. 709, whichever way he has turned his bridle under the shadow of the canopy, the odour of his conquests has been disseminated with the winds. *Indeed all forts opened at his impetuosity as buds 'open' at the blowing of the breeze* ⁶I hope from Almighty God that He will for ever preserve the memory of pious kings on the pages of time. And may the excellent virtues of the Emperor be recorded (in this book) in such a way as to become famous throughout the world, and may the pitch of (my) voice rise high enough to drown the drums

¹ A play on the word '*bahār*', which means spring and is written in the same way as Bihār

² I e., became Sultān of Delhi. The Sultān was styled the 'Shadow of God' (*Zilullah*)

³ A fortified village. The medieval Karra is near the modern Allahabad.

⁴ A fragrant yellow flower. For an account of 'Alauddin's Deogīr expedition,' see Appendix A

⁵ *Najibs*.

⁶ *Allusions to history and books.*

of Sanjar and Mahmūd, though in affairs of government and conquests they were great and successful monarchs !¹

Account of the accession of the conquering monarch, the soles of whose feet have brought happiness to the throne. ² As Providence had ordained that this Moslem Moses was to seize their powerful swords from all infidel Pharoahs and dig out of the earth the immense (*Qārūnī*) treasures of the *rāts*, till the calf-worshipping Hindūs in their hearts began to consider the cow contemptible and the Emperor, with the bow of *Shu'aib*,³ became the shepherd of all his subjects, therefore the deceased Alf *Khān*⁴ was sent to him as Aaron had been sent to Moses. The hopeful message came to his ear 'We will strengthen your arm with your brother and we will give you both an authority.' With the auspicious advice of his brother, the Imperial Moses mounted the throne, which was high as the *Tūr*, on Wednesday the 16th Ramazān, A.H. 695 He gave away *qintārs* after *qintārs*⁵ of gold—'her colour is intensely yellow, giving delight to the beholder'—to every ignoble person Every time he opened the palm of his hand to give away some precious pearls, he showed the 'white hand' of Moses in generosity. Owing to the scattering of emeralds, it seemed that the meadows of Mānikpūr were inlaid with gems And as the enemy⁶ preponderated in strength, both the brothers

¹ 'Alāuddīn was appointed governor of Karra-Mānikpūr (Allahabad) after the suppression of Malīk *Chajū's* rebellion in the second year of Jalāluddīn's reign He distinguished himself by ravaging Chanderī, and then without Jalāluddīn's permission, he marched to Deogīr and plundered it Rāi Rām Deo had to pay an enormous indemnity but was left in possession of his lands. On returning to Karra, 'Alāuddīn succeeded in prevailing on the Sultān, who was his uncle and father-in-law, to come to see him unattended, and had him murdered during the interview on the 16th Ramazān, A.H. 695 (Wednesday, July 17, 1296) Apart from the Deogīr exploit, these events were not creditable to 'Alāuddīn, and Amīr Khusrāu, who was deeply attached to the murdered Sultān, has not attempted to justify them For more details see *Barnī* and *Ferīṣṭa*

² *Allusions to the history of Moses*

³ Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses 'The quotations from the Qurān in this paragraph refer to Moses' conversation with God.

⁴ Alf *Khān* or Ulugh Khan was the title of 'Alāuddīn's younger brother, Ilmās Beg It was Ilmās Beg's duplicity that induced Jalāluddīn to come to 'Alāuddīn's camp without his army

⁵ A weight of forty *uqiyats* (ounces) of gold. Here used in the general sense of ox-loads and bags.

⁶ After Sultān Jalāluddīn's assassination, his youngest son, Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm, was placed on the throne by Jalāluddīn's widow, the Malka-i-Jahān But 'Alāuddīn won over the people and organized his army by a liberal distribution of the treasure he had obtained at Deogīr, and the Malka-i-Jahān and

raised their hands in prayer : ' O our Lord ! Surely we are afraid that he may hasten to do evil to us.' The heavenly voice replied to give them strength : ' Fear not, surely I am with you.' At the appointed time the Emperor reached the precincts of the City.¹ But as the ruler of this side, with the pride of Pharoah in his head, waited for him on the bank of the blue Jamna, the inspiration from Heaven came again to his heart : ' Fear not, surely you will be the uppermost.' So relying on his dragon-spear, he came to the precincts of the Imperial Capital. On Monday, 22nd Zil Hijjah, A.H. 695 the Emperor's proclamation, ' Obey my command ! ' was heard from east to west. *And then owing to his justice he became the shepherd of the people ; the wolf in killing goats became like the wolf of Joseph.*

If I am allowed, I will show the superiority of good government over the glory of conquests. ² Every man gifted with the crown of wisdom, if he takes correct judgment for his guide, will after a little cogitation come to the conclusion that the dignity of the ' ruler ' is superior to that of the ' conqueror '. For the term ' ruler ' is rightly applied to Almighty God, while the title of ' conqueror ' cannot be legitimately used for any but kings of the earth. Philosophers have said that the conquest of the world is with the object of retaining it, the man, who conquers but cannot retain, is in fact himself conquered. And it is inevitable that when he seizes the world, the world should seize him also. This, too, is clear as day to all men that the conquering and keeping of the world is a quality of the sword of the sun ; for from east to west the sun brings the earth under the rays of his sword and keeps it. But the mere conqueror is like a flash of lightning, for an instant he seizes the whole world and then immediately disappears. The conqueror of this age (May God strengthen his hand over the Capital and the provinces¹) so highly excels in the qualities of the ' ruler ' as well as the ' conqueror ', that neither the pen nor the tongue can describe his powers. As a matter of necessity, therefore, I will speak of his virtues in such manner as my capacities allow, and according to the premises stated above, a

Ruknuddin fled away to Multān as soon as 'Alāuddin's army crossed the Jamna and encamped at Sirī.

¹ The City (*Shahr*) in the language of those days always meant Delhi. Other cities were called by their names. A certain sanctity was attached to the capital of the country, and it was referred to with respect.

² *Allusions to the dignities of states.*

description of his administrative measures will precede the account of his conquests in the arrangement of this book ; so that every item may find a proper place without disturbing the continuity of the narrative. *The sock is for the foot and the hat is for the head ; the man, who has brains in his head, does not wear his sock over it.*¹

Account of the administrative measures that have been promulgated in the reign of the Emperor, who is extremely devoted to this art:— ²The fortunate star of all mankind arose on the day when it was made evident to the Emperor's enlightened mind. 'And against these we have given you a clear authority.'³ For when I raise up my eyes, I see that this exalted Dawn⁴ has a greater love and affection for the sons of Adam than the sun has for the moon and the stars of the sky or the moon for the particles of the earth. In the first place, throughout the Empire, from east to west and from north to south, he has often remitted the tribute from the *ra'iyat*. Secondly, he has seized from the Hindu *rāis* with the blows of his sword, just as the sun absorbs water from the earth, treasures which they had been collecting since the time of Mahrāj and Bikarmājīt, star by star. The public treasury is so full that it can be neither described by the pen of Mercury nor weighed in the balance of Venus. He gives away treasures by the balance of Virgo, so that people, who only possessed copper, are drowned under *tankas*⁵ of gold and silver like the Pisces. *On the day of the Emperor's munificence, the Balance in the sky is lighter than the balances on the earth.*

¹ In spite of his dazzling conquests, it was as an administrator that 'Alāuddīn excelled. Amīr Khusrāu's florid rhetoric simply comes to this: it is much better giving good government to your own subjects than to conquer foreign lands, which you may or may not be able to retain. 'One can do anything with bayonets except sit upon them.' It is to be regretted that in spite of his sensible views, the author should have given us such a scanty account of 'Alāuddīn's administrative and economic measures.

² *Allusions to stars*

³ The *Qurān*, chap. iv, sect. 12. The full extract will make the meaning clearer.

'If they (the non-Muslims) withdraw from you and do not fight you and offer you peace, then Allāh has not given you a way against them . . . If they do not withdraw from you and (do not) offer you peace and restrain their hands, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them, and against *these* we have given you a clear authority.'

⁴ I.e. the Sultān.

⁵ *Tanka*, the ancestor of the modern rupee, was the silver and gold coin of the Empire of Delhi. The copper coin was called *ḡital*.

*Account of the distribution of treasures of gold by elephant-loads and a trifle more :—*¹Before this time when Mahmūd, the giver of gold, gave away an elephant-load of gold, his great liberality became famous through the world. But the Emperor distributes gold in a measure which nothing can excel. He has ordered large elephants to be weighed in boats, and the gold-bricks used in weighing them have been given away to the poor. *What monarch can rival the prince in whose city treasures, weighed out by elephants, are given away.*

*Account of the distribution of horses swift as the wind, when every gift consisted of more than a hundred horses .—*²If I were to describe his gifts of horses, the stable of my praises would be unable to include them. Kings are munificent, and the Emperor every day gives away fortunes to the necessitous. It is seldom that he makes a smaller gift than of a hundred or fifty (horses); but if he gives one horse only, it is such that another like it cannot be found. With the blows of his sword he has seized the stables of all the *rāis*. Some of these horses he gives to the horse-breakers, so that with the strokes of their whips they may make the horses run as swift as deer. Others are given to the *pāiks* (footmen) so that they may ride on them with the help of their sharp stirrups. The groomers (*mufridān-i-rakāb*) are also given horses. In former days the calves of the runners had grown thin from running on foot, but now their feet seldom leave the stirrup. Some horses are given to the *amīrs*, who formerly owned unbroken colts but now ride horses swift as the wind. *As this cloud³ rains horses, there is no doubt that the rose, which was formerly a foot-man, will now come out of the ground on horseback.*

*Account of his making the means of happiness abundant for everyone, so that no one may be restrained in his enjoyment during the reign —*⁴Next, in order to increase the means of livelihood for the general public, he reduced the tax on shop-keepers, who had been selling their wares dear. An honest officer (*rāis*) was installed over them to converse with sharp-tongued sellers through the whip of justice and to give the

¹ Allusions to gold and balances of gold.

² Allusions to horses, swift as the wind

³ I.e. the Emperor

* Allusions to government (*riyāsat*) and shop-keepers. The shop-keepers were controlled by the *Diwān-i-Riyāsat* or Ministry of Markets. For the working of the *Diwān-i-Riyāsat* under the harsh but efficient Yaqūb Nāzır, see *Barni*, pages 315-17, (Persian text published by the Bengal Asiatic Society and edited by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.)

capacity of talking to the dumb (purchasers). Clever inspector (*mutafahhis*) made full inquiries into the weight of the stones¹. Every dishonest (seller), who used his own black heart for his 'stone', had all hardness knocked out of him. Severity and rigour reached such a pitch that all 'stones' (weights) were made of iron and their correct weight written upon them; so that if any one gave less than the correct measure, the iron turned into a chain round his neck. If he was impudent still, the chain became a sword and the extreme punishment was meted out to him. When the shopkeepers saw this severity, they did not meddle with the iron-weights; in fact, they considered them to be castles of iron round their hearts and regarded the inscriptions on the weights as amulets for the protection of their souls. You might say that the inscriptions were really not on iron but on hearts of iron. *For on hearts such as these the Emperor's just regulations came as easily as inscriptions on wax and remained as permanently as inscriptions on iron.*

Description of the justice meted out in this reign, so that the dragon has become submissive before the ant ² If I attempt to describe the justice of the Imperial Court, that two-horned deer, the pen, will have to put a chain round the neck of the lion of meaning.³ Wonderful, indeed, is his justice, when from fear of his punishment mad elephants kneel down before panting ants, and tigers repent of their morning draught of animal blood under his arched sword¹. His justice has broken the necks and claws of lions and overthrown the power of dog-faced tyrants.⁴ The head of the pig-eating oppressors hangs low, and the blood of goat-stealing criminals has been shed on the ground like the blood of goats.

Reform of the affairs of nobles and commons—Prohibition of adultery and drink. ⁵ Though the giving of water (to the thirsty) is one of the most notable virtues of the pious Emperor, yet he has removed wine and all its accompaniments from vicious assemblies; for wine, the

¹ I.e. weights used by shop-keepers

² *Allusions to the traditions of justice and equity.*

³ I.e. the Emperor's justice surpasses description

⁴ Referring to the *chaudharis*, *Khots* and *muqaddams* whose power 'Alāuddīn had overthrown. They had started as village headmen but aspired to transform themselves into landlords and claimed the ownership of their villages. Alāuddīn's reforms deprived them of their perquisites and reduced them to the position of tenants.

⁵ *Allusions to virtue and vice*

daughter of grape and the sister of sugar, is the mother of all wickedness. And wine, on her part, has washed herself with salt and sworn that she will henceforth remain in the form of vinegar, freeing herself from all evils out of regard for the claims of 'salt.'¹ Moreover, all prostitutes, who with their locks under their ears, had broken their chains and stretched their feet, have now been lawfully married. From the ribbon, that tied their hair, they have now turned to the 'ribbon' that ties them in marriage. Those whose skirts had obtained a bad reputation, because they earned their living by prostitution, have now been so reformed that they sit in their houses, patching up their skirts with the greatest repentance and rubbing their hands together.² All the roots of sin and crime have been cut off.

*Peace and order during the Emperor's reign, when no one dare pick up a fallen jewel from the street*³ Out of regard for all his subjects, this maintainer of peace has so worked with his sharp sword, that from the banks of the river Sind (Indus) to the Seacoast no one has heard the name of robber, thief or pickpocket. Night-prowlers, who formerly used to set villages on fire, now attend to travellers with a lighted lamp. In whatever part of the country a traveller might lose a piece of rope, either the rope is produced or compensation given. Cutpurses, pickpockets and those who dig open graves⁴ had been busy in their profession from ancient times. But⁵ now the sword of punishment has cut off their hands and feet. And if some of them are still sound in body, *their hands and feet have become so useless, that you would think they were born without them.*

*Massacre of blood-sucking magicians, when blood bubbled out of the neck of those whose lips had worked mischief*⁵ Blood-sucking magicians—who by the use of (magical) words sharpened their unwise teeth on the flesh of other people's children and caused a stream of blood to flow, which pleased them greatly—were buried in the earth up

¹ Wine and sugar may be both produced from the same grapes, and the addition of salt turns wine into vinegar.

² The regulations for the prohibition of intoxicants are mentioned by Barni, but he says nothing about the compulsory marriages of prostitutes. It is likely that brothels were closed along with taverns and gambling dens.

³ *Allusions to peace and order.*

⁴ Apparently, in order to steal the winding-sheet.

⁵ *Allusions to man-eating magicians*

to their necks while people threw stones at them. Thus punishment for the blood they had drunk was meted out on their heads. *All men have to suffer the agonies of death, but those who drink this wine (i.e., human blood) are thus destroyed.*¹

Massacre of the 'fraternity of incest' (ashāb-i-ibāhat), when punishment for their deeds was meted out to them. ² Next the pious supporter of the *shari'at* ordered all members of the 'fraternity of incest' to be brought before him. Truthful inquisitors were appointed to catch everyone of them and make thorough inquiries into their assemblies. It was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers had cohabited with their own sons and aunts (mother's sisters) with their nephews, that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters. Over the head of all of them, men as well as women, the saw of punishment was drawn. . . . The saw with its heart of iron laughed loudly over their heads in tears of blood. Those, who by a 'secret stroke' (*Zarb-i-pinhan*) had become one, were now openly sawed into two, and the soul that had sought union (*wasl*) with another soul, was now compelled to leave its own body ³

*Account of the cheapness of corn, when a single 'dāng'*⁴ *turned the scale.* ⁵ As this cloud of generosity is extremely anxious for the

¹ The punishment of magicians, stoned after being half buried, has not been described by Barnī, but it is only too probable considering the universal belief in magic and the atrocious punishments inflicted on those who were supposed to dabble in anything dark and mysterious. 'No one in 'Alāuddin's days,' Barnī tells us, 'had the courage to profess a knowledge of alchemy or magic from fear of the Emperor.'

² *Allusions to incest and punishment*

³ This is confirmed by Barnī. 'In those years,' he says, 'people who committed incest and libertines appeared in the City. By the Sultān's orders they were found out after a careful and diligent search and were put to death with tortures. The saw of punishment was drawn over their heads and they were cut into two. After this punishment the name of incest did not come to anyone's lips in the City.' By the 'fraternity of incest' is meant the Carmathians, Ismailes and other Shia 'heretics' of the sect of Seven Imams, whom the 'orthodox' Sunnis accused of permitting marriages within prohibited degrees and of practising incest in their secret assemblies. The charge, whether right or wrong, was generally believed. The Carmathians had captured Multān a century before Mahmūd of Ghaznī and made their existence felt again and again in the succeeding centuries.

⁴ The fourth part of a *masqāl*, a trifling weight.

⁵ *Allusions to seasons, corn and its rates*

public welfare and the comfort and prosperity of nobles and commons, he has kept low the price of grain, from which villagers and citizens derive an equal advantage, during periods when not a drop of rain has fallen from the painted clouds. Whenever the white clouds have had no water left and destruction has stared people in the face, he has cheapened the price of grain for every section of the public by generously opening the royal stores.¹ The clouds, consequently, have felt ashamed at their own niggardliness and in envy of his bountiful hands have dissolved into rain. To spur them on to this act, the lightning has often laughed loudly over the heads of water-laden clouds and then fallen on the ground.² For the lightning knows well that the clouds sometimes rain and sometimes do not, and when they rain, they rain water only. How can they be compared to our beneficent Emperor, who always rains and always rains gold?

Regulations of the 'Place of Justice' (Dārul 'Adl),³ the generous gate of which has been opened for the public. ⁴ Next he constructed the 'Place of Justice' more open than the forehead of honest businessmen and brought to it all things that the people require. He ordered that all packages of cloth brought from the provinces were to be opened here and nowhere else, and once opened, they were not to be tied up again.⁵ *And if anyone opened his packages elsewhere, the joints of his body were to be 'opened' with the sword.* As to the commodities of the 'Place of Justice' and the cloth which is required by rich and poor, there are all varieties of cloth from *kirpās* to *harīr* which hide the body, from *behārī* to *gul-i-bāqlī*, which are used both in summer and winter; from *shī'r* to *galīm*, which differ greatly in their fibres, from *juz* to *khuz*, which are similar in their structure, and from *Deogīrī* to

¹ 'Alāuddīn used to take royal dues from the peasants of the Doab in kind. The corn was stored in the royal granaries and brought to the market in times of famine and sold at the tariff rates.' The economic and administrative regulations of Sultan 'Alāuddīn are described by Barnī in detail.

² Out of respect for the Emperor, apparently.

³ Barnī calls it the *Serā-i 'Adl*. It was constructed on the plain before the Badāūn Gate, and placed under the supervision of the *Rāīs-i Parwāna* (Supervisor of the Cloth Market). Barnī gives the tariff and the detailed regulations of the cloth market.

⁴ *Allusions to opening and closing.*

⁵ The prices in the *Serā-i 'Adl*, owing to the subsidy granted by 'Alāuddīn to the Multānī merchants, were lower than in other towns. Cloth once brought to it was not allowed to be taken out again, nor could cloth be sold anywhere else in Delhi except the *Serā-i 'Adl*.

Mahadeonagri, which are an allurements both for the body and the mind.¹ ² *As to fruits and other necessities of the table*, if I were to describe in detail all the fine fruits that grow out of the ground, the narrative would become too long and I would be kept back from my real purpose, but the Emperor has provided in the 'Place of Justice' fruits and all other things that nobles and commons require for their meals, so that in the midst of the noise and tumult everyone may be able to select carefully the best and most suitable articles.³ You profess to give a just (judgment). Can you find (a judgment) just enough to the Emperor's generosity?

Account of the sacred buildings, which the Emperor has constructed for the pleasure of God. ⁴Because there is a secret understanding between God and the Emperor concerning sacred and public works, he has constructed such sacred buildings as strike the sky with wonder. With a pure motive he began his series of buildings with the Royal Juma Masjid (*Masjid-i Jama-i Hazrat*).⁵ He ordered a fourth court (*maqsūra*), with lofty pillars to be added to the pre-existing three courts, it was to be so high that the fourth heaven may call it a second Mecca. In a day stones like the sun were brought from the sky, and the (structure of) stones rose from the earth to the moon. Verses from the *Qurān* were engraved on stone as if it was wax, on one side the inscription ascended so high that you would think the word of God was going up to heaven, on the other side it came down in such a way as to symbolize the descent of the *Qurān* to earth. Through the elevation of this inscription a conversation, which will

¹ The phrases added after the names of the cloths are a play upon the names of the cloths, which it would not be worth while explaining in English.

² *Allusions to fruits, ripe and sweet.*

³ Barni does not speak of fruits being sold in the *Serā-i 'Adl*, but it is quite possible that a part of the market was allotted to fruit shops. 'Alāuddīn was very particular about the maintenance of order in the markets and no disturbance was permitted

⁴ *Allusions to building*

⁵ The Qutub Mosque, of which the Qutub Minār is a part, is known by various names. 'In histories', Sir Syed Ahmad Khān says in the famous *Asārus Sanādīd*, 'I have always seen this mosque referred to as the 'Masjid-i-Adana-i-Delhi' or the 'Masjid-i Jama-i Delhi' but never as the 'Masjid-i Quwwatul Islam'. It is not known when the name of 'Quwwatul Islam' was given to it but it might have obtained this name when the temple was conquered and the mosque was built. Such mosques are seldom known to the public by their real names but only by the general designation of Jama-i Masjid.

never end, has been started between heaven and earth. After this wide and high edifice had been finished from top to bottom, other mosques were built in the City, so strong that when the nine roofs of the thousand-eyed sky fall down in the universe-quake of resurrection, not an arch of these mosques will be injured. Next the columns of the old mosques, whose walls were kneeling and bowing in prayer and whose roofs were about to fall, were made to stand up so that they once more became the 'pillars of faith' and prayers were said in them. The four walls of (the mosques) were strengthened and so brilliantly plastered inside and outside that their light *outdid the colour of the azure sky*.

Of the extension of the Jamī and the subsequent construction of the Minār. ¹ When by the grace of God² the decayed mosques had been

¹ *Allusions to the mosque and the Minār*

² The following extracts from the *Asārus Sanādīd* of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān will enable the reader to attach a meaning to Khusrā's florid narrative

'*The Incomplete Minār* —The Emperor 'Alāuddīn was very desirous of fame. Consequently when he ordered the extension of the (Qutub) Mosque in A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311), he also commanded a new *Minār* (tower) to be built in the courtyard of the mosque, twice the size of the old (Qutub) *Minār*. The new *Minār* had a circumference of one hundred yards and its foundations were laid in the Muslim fashion—i.e., with a platform and the first door opening on the western side. It was proposed to build the new *minār* 200 yards high. But though the Emperor had laid its foundations firmly, his own life was less secure, even the first storey had not been finished when he died and the wonderful structure was left incomplete. Some parts of the incomplete *minār* have fallen down, only a mass of stones and lime is left.

'*The Large Gate near the Qutub Minār* —When Sultān 'Alāuddīn became Emperor and developed an ambition for public works, he built an enormous gate for this mosque near the Qutub *Minār* in A.H. 710 (A.D. 1311). This gate is almost wholly of red sand stone, although here and there marble has been used. On the four sides of the large gate he constructed four smaller gates, and on the western, southern, and eastern gates he has put inscriptions with his name on them. But many of the inscribed stones have fallen down and rain has eaten into many letters. The roof of the gate consists of a heavy dome. Everywhere there is fine inlaid and mosaic work, and 'traditions' and verses from the *Qurān* have been inscribed.

'*The Court of (the Qutub Mosque)* —After the gate was finished, the Emperor ordered a fourth court (*darḡa*) to be added to the mosque. The court in the centre had been constructed by Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, and the two courts on either side of it by Sultān Shamsuddīn. 'Alāuddīn's court was 115 yards long, counting three feet to the yard, the foundations of nine doors had been laid and the central door was sixteen yards. In A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311) the court was being built, but unfortunately the Emperor died in A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315) and the mosque was left incomplete. If the edifice had been completed, the whole mosque would have measured 241 yards in length from east to west, and 132 yards in breadth from north to south. On the northern side the Emperor began the construction of a

so firmly repaired, that like the sacred Ka'bah they became safe from destruction, the Emperor's noble ambition prompted him to build a peer to the high Mīnār-i-Jāmi, a structure unrivalled throughout the world. The dome of sky was to be bestowed on the (new) Mīnār, for it could not rise higher than that. First, he ordered the courtyard of the mosque to be extended as much as possible, so that the 'fraternity of Islam', which is fortunately too large for the whole world, may yet be contained in this world within a world. Next, in order to make the *Mīnār* strong, and to carry it so high that the dome of the old *Mīnār* might look like an arch of the new, he ordered its circumference to be twice that of the old Mīnār. On a sign from the Emperor, the planets, who are the shopkeepers of the sky, began to move their chariots. Mercury became busy in buying iron and stone and the moon began to drive the Taurus. Yes, when the 'House of God' is being built, the stars have to carry stores on their heads¹. And if they refuse to stir from their places, *the Mīnār itself will rise up to them and strike their heads with stones*. People were sent to search for stones on all sides. Some struck the hills with their claws, and as they were anxious to find stones, they tore up the hill-side to pieces like lovers¹. Others were keener than steel in overturning infidel buildings. They sharpened their iron instruments, went to wage a holy war against the castles of the (old) *rāzīs*, and fought a ferocious battle against the stones with their muscles of steel. Wherever an idol temple had kneeled down in prayer, the 'arguments' of the strong tongued spade removed the foundations of infidelity from its heart, till finally the temple placed its head in thanksgiving on the ground.² The stone slabs bore ancient inscriptions made by the 'Preceptor of Angels'³; but as the pen of Destiny had ordained that all these stones would have the good news—'Indeed he builds the mosques of Allāh'—written

door, but that, too, was left unfinished. There was fine mosaic work on all these incomplete buildings, and texts and "traditions" had been inscribed. It is not known who removed these (inscribed) stones but it is clear that they have been removed. Nothing is now left except (plain) stones and lime¹.

¹ In allusion to Farhād, the lover of *Shīrin*, who perforated a huge mountain to please his mistress.

² Only the ruined palaces of the old *rāzīs* or temples that had ceased to be places of worship and had fallen down, were touched. A temple used as a place of worship was inviolable by the Imperial Law.

³ I e., Satan. A *farsang*, roughly speaking, is a distance of three to three and a half miles.

upon them, they thrust the point of their pickaxes into the hard hearts (of the buildings) and threw (the stones) to the ground. Then the iron of the shovels, having turned into a magnet in contrariety to its nature, drew the stones to itself, and labourers with bodies of steel brought these stones from temples a hundred *farsangs* away. The stony back of the mosque had a large mass of stones put upon it, stones, such as the sky could not have drawn to itself, were taken to the sky, and rocks, such as the mountains could not hold on their backs, were brought upon the backs of the animals.

The stone-cutters of Hind, who excel Farhād in their art, took out their hatchets and smoothed the stones so artistically, that if imagination had put its feet upon them, it would have certainly slipped. The masons of Delhī, who consider Nī'mān Manzar a novice in the art of building, used their professional skill and joined stone to stone so that there was no danger of any secret crevice or cavity remaining between them. The doors and walls of the mosque, which formerly performed their *tayammum*¹ with the dust, have now been raised so high that they perform their ablutions with water from the clouds. This has happened in the year A.H. 711. To carry it higher, human life must be based on a foundation firmer than that of the *Mīnār*, only then could the tower, which has risen out of the earth, be carried to the sky. And though I wish to see it finish, my life will have to be long before I am able to witness its completion and send my blessings to its pious founder. *Besides my sight cannot reach its end, I am one of those who come and see and depart.*

Construction of the strong fort of the City, in which a second wall of Alexander² appeared on the face of the globe —³The fort of Delhī, the deputy of the sacred Ka'ba, had fallen down. Owing to the ravages of time, it was in a condition of dilapidation worse than that which has overtaken taverns⁴ in the reign of the august Emperor. Like a man dead drunk, it had fallen down in place and out of place, quite unable to keep its stones together. Sometime it placed its head

¹ The Muslim practice is to perform ablutions (*wazu*) with water before prayer, but when water is not available, sand or dry earth can be used, and the ablution is then known as the *tayammum*.

² Referring to the famous wall which Sikandar Zulqarnain (probably Darius I of Persia) constructed to keep off Gog and Magog (The Qurān, Chap. xviii, sect. 2.)

³ *Allusions to the buildings of the fort*

⁴ 'Alāuddīn had ordered all taverns and gambling dens of Delhī to be closed

on the ground before the common people of the public highway ; on other occasions, it had bowed down in salutation to the worthless ditch. Its towers had once been so high that a man's hat fell down if he attempted to look at them ; but now, from continued ill-treatment, they lay down to sleep on the earth. When the ' Alāi era of public works arrived (May it last for ever !), the Emperor ordered stones and bricks of gold to be taken out of the flourishing exchequer and spent in defraying the expenses of the fort.¹ Skilful masons applied themselves to the work and a new fort was quickly built in place of the old. The new fort with its strong forearm and seven towers shakes hands with the coloured Pleiades, squeezes the powerful Mars under its arm-pit, and uses the high sky as a sort of waistband. It is a necessary condition that blood be given to a new building ; consequently, many thousand goat-bearded *Mughals* have been sacrificed for the purpose. When the edifice—many congratulations to its founder—was completed, the Guardian of the Universe took it under His protection. *How will any trouble or insurrection find its way to the place of which God is the guardian* ²

Construction of other forts, which, owing to the Emperor's favour, now raise their heads to the sky.— ² When the masons of the Imperial capital had been recompensed for the buildings in the City, the Emperor ordered that wherever in any part of the Empire there was a fort, which had been affected by the moist winds of the rainy season, or was about to doze or go to sleep, or had opened wide its cracks and cast away its teeth (from old age), or grew yellow flowers in

¹ 'The 'Alāi Delhi, or 'Alāi Fort or Koshak-i-Sirī —This fort was built by Sultan 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. When in A. H. 703 (A. D. 1303) the Emperor marched against Chitor in person and at the same time sent a large force against Warangal in Telingāna, Targhī and the Mughals came and laid siege to Delhi, expecting to find it empty. But after many battles the Emperor was victorious. Afterwards he built this fort. A village, called Sri, existed here at that time, consequently, the fort was also known as the fort of Sirī. In Sher Shāh's time it was called the 'Koshak i-Sirī'. The fort, as built by 'Alāuddīn, was circular, with strongly built walls of stone, brick and lime, and had seven gates. Before the fort was completed, another battle with the Mughals took place, and eight thousand Mughal heads were used in place of stones in building the walls of the fort. Though the fort has quite crumbled down, yet some traces of it are found on the left hand side when going to the Qutub Minar. In A. H. 96 Sher Shāh pulled down the fort of Sirī and built a new city near Old Delhi (i.e., Indarpat). A village, named Shāh-abad, exists at the place now' (Asārus Sanādīd).

² Allusions to buildings.

the rainy season, or was laughing through its walls or falling on its neck, or had the snakes of Zuhhāk¹ living in its ears (corners), or bred rats in its arms (wings), it was to be repaired ; so that instead of crevices frequented by scorpions and snakes, its towers rose stronger than the constellation of Scorpio, and as high as the *Saggitarius* and the *Pleiades*.

Of the new buildings in the country, villages and cities, which fill the whole Empire with 'tasbīh' (praises of God) and 'aḥḥan' (call to prayer)

² All mosques which lay in ruins—the vaults of some had fallen to the ground, the walls of others had crumbled down after having been repeatedly patched and repaired, the (interior of) some was compelled by the wind to perform an ablution (*tayammum*) with dust every day, the pillars of others had daily bathed in the rain and then laid themselves down—were built anew by a profuse scattering of silver. *Prayers were said regularly in all, with blessings on their pious founder.*

Account of the Royal Tank (Hauz-i-Sultān), which holds the water of immortality in solution. ³ The Royal Tank, known as the '*Shamsī Tank*',⁴ will (now) shine like the sun till the dawn of resurrection. But (formerly) the sun every day made it a mirror for seeing its own face, and it reflected back the light of the sun. But as the latter shone hotly upon it, it slowly sank down out of respect for the sun. 'If your water should go down,' the sun asked in its rage, 'who is it then that will bring you flowing water?' And the tank dried up from fear. This year the revolving sky flared up all of a sudden, and the water of the tank evaporated so thoroughly that its bottom cracked and broke into pieces. In his contempt for the 'king of the planets,' the 'Emperor of the world'⁵ ordered the sand and mud to be removed from the bottom of the tank. And as the sun from on high had been drying up its water, a dome, such as put that luminary into falling fits, was built over it. Then rain came on, and the 'eyes' of the clear-hearted tank, which had dried up at the sun, were again filled with water. Strange the sympathy of the tank, that it should weep (at the helplessness) of the sun! But such is the custom of noble persons. Immediately sweet water became available in the

¹ A king of the Peshādian dynasty, proverbial for his cruelty. He had two snakes growing out of his shoulders whom he fed on human beings.

² Allusions to buildings again. ³ Allusions to the tank, clear and moist.

⁴ A play on the name of the Emperor *Shamsuddin* (Sun of Faith).

⁵ I.e. 'Alāuddin.

City and a tumult rose up from the City wells. But though it had rained once through the kindness of Heaven, the bottom of the tank was too dry to become moist with a single draught. *All clear water, that fell from the cloud, sank into the earth like the treasure of Qārūn.*¹

² There can be no doubt that Delhi is a city, which even the Nile and the Euphrates cannot provide with sufficient drinking water. And so the people of the City were faced with the same destruction that had threatened the followers of Moses. The Emperor—whose sharp sword has thrown the Pharaohs of infidelity into the Nile, or, to put it differently, whose Nile-like sword has been drowned in the yellow blood of Jewish tempered³ tunic-weavers—in this general scarcity of water, when even the Jamna had become dry, raised up his 'white hand', like Moses, to pray to God for water. Immediately, in proof of the text,—'And we made the clouds to give shade over you'—the shadow (of his hand) fell over a little dry earth. The spades and the pickaxes in the hands of the excavators became like the staff of Moses. Two or three springs appeared on the four sides of the embankment (*chautra*). 'So there flowed from it twelve springs; each tribe knew its drinking place.' In a few days the water reached the edge of the embankment, and having met it (the embankment) after a long time, the water shook hands with it and hugged it with a hearty embrace, just as the sea embraces the land. *Khusrau* has written these lines in praise of the tank and its dome. 'The dome in the centre of the tank is like a bubble on the surface of the sea. If you see the dome and the tank rightly, you will say that the former is like an ostrich egg, half in water and half out of it.'⁴

¹ Cousin of the Prophet Moses. He is believed to be constantly sinking, down and down, into the earth, along with all his treasures, in punishment of his niggardliness and greed.

² *Allusions to the story of Moses.*

³ Because given to hoarding.

⁴ 'The Hauz-i Shamsi'—'This tank was built by Sultān Shamsuddīn some-time about A.H. 627 (A.D. 1229) in the neighbourhood of Qutub Sahib. It is said that the tank was constructed of red stone, but now it is quite broken and only a lake is left. This lake is 276 *pukhta bighas* in area. What, then, must have been the extent of the tank when it was in good repair? In A.H. 711 as it had been filled up with mud, Sultān 'Alāuddīn had it dredged, and exactly in its centre he constructed a platform, over which he built a very beautiful dome (*burji*). This dome exists till to-day. Firoz Shah, too, repaired the tank in his reign, and cleared the passages by which the water used to come. But now the tank has been nearly filled up with earth, and water does not remain in it for more than three or four months' (*Asārus Sanādīd*).

CHAPTER III

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE MUGHALS

¹ As the public works which have been, and are being, constructed by this pious builder (May he live for ever!), surpass what the pen

¹ *Allusions to territories and forts*

The Mughals or Mongols, who are the heroes of this chapter, require some introduction. They were first brought into prominence by Chengiz Khan in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The early life of Chengiz was spent in a protracted struggle against the surrounding tribes, but he emerged victorious through a combination of craft and guile, brutal strength and constructive statesmanship. His election as 'Khan' of the Mongolian tribes was followed by a reorganization of his people as the most efficient fighting machine in the world, organized on a system of universal conscription and blind obedience to orders. Chengiz first invaded China and then attacked the Khwarazmian Empire with an army of 800,000. No power in the Muslim world was able to withstand him. City after city fell before the barbarians, and Sultan Alaoddin Mohammed Khwarazm Shah died in one of the islands of the Caspian to which he had fled for refuge. Chengiz retired to his own country from the eastern bank of the Indus, but the empire he had founded persisted for three generations, and was a terror to all mankind.

Chengiz Khan had four sons. Juji (or Tushi), the eldest, died in the lifetime of his father, but Juji's son, Batu, conquered Southern Russia, Bulgaria and part of Poland and founded his dynasty there. Ogtai, the eldest surviving son, succeeded Chengiz as 'Khan,' 'Qa-an' or 'Khaqan.' Chaghtai and Tului were given domains under the suzerainty of their brother. Ogtai was succeeded by his son, Kayuk (or Kapak), but after Kayuk's short reign, the unity of the empire disappeared. The *quriltai* or assembly of Mongol princes, representing the majority, elected Mangu, son of Tului, to the 'Khakanship' in 1251, but Qaidu Khan, supported by the descendants of Chaghtai and Ogtai, established himself in Mawaraun Nahr and maintained his independence till his death in 1301. In spite of this rift in the lute, the *quriltai* of 1251 launched two important expeditions. Kublai, brother of Mangu (the 'Kubla Khan' of Coleridge) was sent against China, while his younger brother, Halaku Khan, was despatched against the 'heretics' (*Ismaeles*) of Persia. Halaku first captured the forts of the 'heretics' and then proceeded to overthrow the Caliph of the orthodox. Baghdad was captured and sacked in 1258 and Halaku's descendants, known as the 'I-I Khans,' while acknowledging the formal superiority of the 'Khakan,' continued to govern Persia in practical independence during the thirteenth century. Meanwhile in the east Mangu was succeeded by Qublai, who completed the conquest of the Chinese empire.

The early successes of the Mongols had been due to the strength of their military organization, the genius of their leaders and the hardships, which the rank and file were prepared to bear. A generation of civilization sufficed to degenerate them. The I-I Khans of Persia became Mussalmans and adopted Persian ways. The successors of Qublai were driven pell-mell out of China to their barbaric land and its barbaric ways.

Sultan 'Alaoddin's contemporaries among the 'I-I Khans' were—Ghazan Khan son of Arghun Khan son of Abaka Khan son of Halaku Khan, who ruled

can describe, out of many Imperial buildings I have contented myself with the description of those given above in acknowledgment of my own limitations. Now I will move my tongue, which is surrounded by wise teeth, and describe some of the victories this world-conquering Alexander has achieved through heavenly assistance, the territories he has conquered and the forts he has reduced. Thus I will bring out of my mind the treasures that lie buried there, *and at every victory I will scatter (prose) under the foot of my pen in these pages.*

from A. H. 694 to 703 and Ghazan's brother, Khuda Bandah Aljaitu Sultan, who ruled from A. H. 703 to 716. While the ruling dynasty had accepted Islam, many soldiers and officers adhered to their old faith. But whether Mussalman or infidel, the Mongols had not forsaken their old plundering habits and their taste for bloodshed, as the career of Timur conclusively shows.

A detailed account of the Mongols will be found in Sir Henry Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, 4 vols. a monument of careful and painstaking scholarship. Sir Henry has depended mostly on translations and has, therefore, not been able to give as graphic an account of the character of the Mongols and their social system as some of the early Persian writers. The earliest account of the Mongols seems to be the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhajus Siraj Jurjani of Delhi. The author had a first-hand knowledge of the Chengiz Mongols, against whom he had fought, and regarded them with a bitter hatred. Writing at a safe distance from the barbarians, Qazi Minhajus Siraj had no hesitation in abusing the 'Mughal infidels,' and the thirteenth chapter (*tabaqah*) of his work, devoted to the 'Rise of the Mongols,' reads like a thrilling short story. The military superiority of Chengiz Khan had convinced the learned Qazi that the Day of Judgment was near and he quotes chapter and verse to prove this. Some chapters (including the thirteenth) of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* have been printed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the inestimable Col. Raverty devoted twelve years to translating it into English. The most reliable history of the Mongols is the *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* of 'Alauddin' Ata Malik Juwayni, who compiled his work in the time of Halaku Khan. The first two volumes of Juwayni's book, comprising an account of the Khwarazmians and Mongols, have been excellently edited for the Gibb's Memorial Series by Mr. Mohammad ibn-i 'Abdul Wahhab Qazwini. A later work, the *Jami'ut Tawarikh* of Rashiduddin, who wrote in the time of Aljaitu Sultan, incorporates much fresh information and continues the history of Chengiz Khan's successors. The first volume of the *Jami'ut Tawarikh* is said to have been printed in Russia, the second volume on the 'Successors of Chengiz Khan' has been edited by Mr. Blochet for the Gibb's Memorial Series. Three other Persian histories may here be mentioned—the *Tarikh* of Wassaf, who was a contemporary of Rashiduddin, the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah* of Hamdullah Mustawfi and the *Rauzat-us-Safa* of Mohammad ibn-i Khawind Shah. All these writers rely mostly on the *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* and the *Jami'ut Tawarikh*.

The word Mongol requires some explanation. Early writers generally say 'Maghul,' but in later writers the *Waw* is dropped. The 'n' of 'Mongol' is not found in Persian writers. Still it is convenient to apply the word 'Mongol' to Chengiz Khan and his successors and reserve the word 'Mughal' for the Indian Emperors of the House of Babar, who though belonging to the same race, represented a different culture and civilization. But where the Persian text says 'Mughal,' I have kept that word.

The first victory of the (Imperial) Army over the gluttons of Kadar in the confines of Jāran Manjūr. ¹ This is the account of the victory, which the champions of the triumphant army obtained, for the first time during the reign of this Sanjar-like Sultān (May God protect his standards!) over the soldiers of the accursed Kadar in the land of Jāran Manjūr. When the subtle Tatār, accompanied by an army like an avenging deluge, came as presumptuous as ever from the Jūdī mountains, and crossed the Bīās, Jelum and Sutlej,² the advancing wave of the hellites burnt down all the villages (*talwārah*³) of the Khokars, so that the flames illuminated the suburbs of the City, and the buildings of Qusūr were demolished. Such a wailing arose that the sound of it reached the august Emperor of the world.⁴ ⁵ The late Ulugh Khān, the arm of the state, was sent with the right wing of the army, supported by great generals and troops, to wage a holy war. *He was to go to the infidels to show them his strong and closed fist.* ⁶ The Khān, whose bow was like that of Arsh,⁷ flew as fast as one of his own arrows; and making two marches in one, he reached the borders of Jāran Manjūr, the field of battle. Only the distance of a bowshot remained between the two armies. On Wednesday, the 22nd Rabī'ul Aḥīr, A.H. 697 the great Muslim Khān came into contact with the infidels. He ordered the standard-bearers to bind the victorious standards to their backs, for the sake of their honour, they turned their faces towards the Sutlej, and without the aid of boats, *they swam over the river, striking out their hands⁸ like oars impelling a boat.* ⁹ The Mughals seemed very brave before the victorious army had plunged into the river; but when the wave of Muslim troops reached the middle of the stream, they gave way. Unable to bear the fire of the sword, they fled desperately; and though in number like ants and locusts, they were trampled under the feet of the horsemen like an army of ants. The *Mughals* wished to

¹ *Allusions to war and victory.*

² 'This is the order observed in the original' (Elliot)

³ 'The word *talwārah* is a common name for a village in many parts of the Upper Punjab. The *talaundi* of the Khakars is a local word similarly applied' (Elliot).

⁴ The three preceding sentences have been adapted from Elliot. *Qusur* also means buildings.

⁵ *Allusions to the arm.*

⁶ *Allusions to weapons*

⁷ A famous Persian archer.

⁸ Or in the alternative, shooting arrows.

⁹ Allusions to battle and slaughter

sink into the ground; for the sword was so busy on the bank that blood flowed like *surkhab*¹ on the river. The champions of the army could split a hair of the eyelash without injuring the eye; and in the twinkling of an eye, they had sewn up the stony eyeballs of some Mughals as you might sew up the eyes of a hawk, while their arrows pierced the iron hearts of others as a key goes into a lock. *When a breast, like a rusty lock, refuses to open, it should be opened in no other way than this.* In short, twenty thousand ferocious Mughals were sent to sleep on the ground in mourning at their own death by the powerful (Imperial) lions. A very large part of Kadar's army (*tumān*) was cut to pieces with blows of axe and spear. Some Mughals whose bones had been ground to powder, were sent off to their journey² in that condition. Others had become unconscious through fear, but life still remained in their bodies; their heads were cut off, and so they departed without their heads. Most of the survivors were imprisoned. 'Lay hold on him, then put a chain on him'³ The iron collar, which loves the Mughal necks, enclosed them with the greatest affection and squeezed them hard. *'This is the punishment of the enemies of Islam,' cried their chains with a loud voice.*

⁴ When the blood-smeared heads of the Tatārs had filled the battle-field with thousands and thousands of wine glasses, the jackals of the forest collected together and held a feast by the river-side. After slaughtering the execrable carcass-eaters of Qaidū,⁵ who are

¹ A kind of water fowl, the *anas casarca*, or, in the alternative, 'red water'

² i.e. the journey beyond the grave.

³ The Qurān, Chapter lxi, in allusion to the punishments of the Day of Judgment

⁴ *Allusions to war and festivities*

⁵ Why Qaidū?

It is to be regretted that while Indian historians supply us with sufficient information to enable us to piece together a complete account of the Mongol invasions of India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Persian writers referred to in a preceding note, give us the vaguest information on the subject or else ignore it completely. Of course a raid on Indian territory led by a general of secondary importance was an insignificant matter for the historian of an empire extending from Peking to Moscow. But there was also another reason for their silence.

Ziauddin Barni throughout speaks of the Mongols coming from Mawaraun Nahr. He says that Kütlugh Khwaja, who besieged Delhi in the fourth year of Alauddin's reign, was a son of Quda, king of Mawaraun Nahr, and Targhi, who was present in that as well as later campaigns, is first brought into prominence as a general of Kütlugh Khwaja. Quda is probably a misreading for Qaidū. We have seen that in the *qurillāi* of 1251, the Chaghtai and Ogtai princes refused to

both Turks of the tribe of Qai(vomit) and the eaters of vomit (*qar*), the victorious army of the Khalifa (May he reign for ever!) prepared to return. The late Ulugh Khān (May God give him pure wine to drink!) first held a pleasure-party to commemorate the great victory and scattered gold and jewels among his comrades of war and peace. Then intoxicated with happiness, he spurred his horse to kiss the ground before the Imperial Court. The prisoners, who looked like the teeth of mad elephants, were put to death. Meanwhile, the Emperor, like Kai-Khusrau,¹ had seen the image of this victory in the world-compassing mirror of his own mind, and moved his tongue in gratitude at the realization of his wishes. 'If you are grateful, I would certainly give to you more.'² He then gave himself up to rejoicings. He called the commanders (*khans*) of the left and right wings³ to a great feast, and bestowed such favours on the citizens and the army, that they were freed from all labour (God protect us from it!) *If you asked water in alms from a beggar, he would give you wine.*⁴

acknowledge the 'Khakanship' of Mangu and set up an independent kingship under Qaidu in Mawaraun Nahr and Turkestan. This division of Mongol power saved the kingdom of Delhi, which could not have withstood a united attack of the Mongols. The I-I Khans of Persia naturally paid homage to Mangu and his successors, who like them were descendants of Tului, but they were constantly at war with the Mameluks of Egypt in Syria, and, more often than not, had the worse of it. It is the Chaghtai and Ogtai princes of Mawaraun Nahr who are responsible for the invasions described in this chapter. They were being hard-pressed by the 'Khakan' in the west and by 'I-I Khans' in the east and this naturally made them anxious to carve out principalities for themselves elsewhere. An account of the fortunes of the House of Qaidu will be found in *Howorth*, vol. 1, pp. 173-82, but Persian writers, as a rule, have confined themselves to an account of the 'Khaqans, and 'I-I Khans', in whose eyes Qaidu was a rebel.

¹ A famous Emperor of Persia and master of the hero, Rustam. He had a cup or mirror in which he could see all that was happening in the world.

² The Qurān, chap. xiv, sect. 2.

³ i.e. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān.

⁴ The battle is referred to by Barni and Ferishta, though they do not give detailed accounts —

'In the same year, A.H. 696 the Mughal danger arose. Some Mughals crossed the Sindh (Indus) and came into the country. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with the Jalali and 'Alāi *amirs* and a large army were sent against them. The army of Islam gave the accursed foe battle within the boundaries of Jālandar. The Muslim banner was victorious. Many Mughals were captured and killed and their heads were brought to Delhi (*Barni*)

'In the same year Dāwā Khān, the ruler of Mawaraun Nahr, sent some hundred thousand Mughals to Hindustān with the object of conquering the provinces of Punjāb, Multān and Sindh. The Mughals crossed the river Sindh and left nothing undone in the way of spoliation, plunder and destruction. When

This is the account of another victory of the Muslim army over the Mughals. ¹ When 'Ali Beg, Tartāq and Targhi came with drawn swords from the borders of Turkestān to the river Sind (Indus), and after crossing the Jelum like an arrow, turned their faces in this direction, Targhi, who had once or twice fled away from the attacks of the victors, already saw his bald head on the spears of the champions of Islām, like a wine cup placed over a ladle. Although he had an iron heart, yet he dare not place it within the reach of the anvil-breaking warriors of God. But he was at last shot by an arrow, which penetrated his heart and passed to the other side. 'Alī Beg and Tartāq, who had never been to this country before, mistook the arched swords of Musalmāns for those of mere preachers. They ventured with single heads on their shoulders into a country, where if a man brought a thousand heads, he could not take one of them back. They had fifty thousand trained and ferocious horsemen, the hills trembled at their tread. The confounded inhabitants at the foot of the hills fled away at the fierce attack of these wretches and rushed to the fords of the Ganges. But the lightning of Mughal fury penetrated to that regions also and smoke arose out of the towns of Hindustān ² People fled from their burning houses, and with their heads and feet on fire, threw themselves into rivers and torrents. At last from these desolated tracts news came to the Imperial Court. The Emperor sent his confidential officer, Malik Naik, the *Akhūr Beg-i-Maisarah*, with thirty thousand powerful horsemen, and directed him to slaughter without stint and to shoot such an arrow at the accursed mark as might create a fearful rent in their work (strategy). Across

this news was brought to the Emperor, he sent Ilmās Bēg Ulugh Khān and Hızhabruddīn Zafar Khān with an enormous army to suppress them. The two armies met each other within the confines of Lahore, a fearful battle took place and the Mughals were defeated. Some twelve thousand Mughals were put to the sword, many of their leading *Amīrs* were captured and put to death with tortures. Ulugh Khan sent the heads of the Mughals to Delhī along with their wives and children' (*Ferīšta*).

Lahore could not have been the seat of battle, which according to Amīr Khusrāu took place by the side of the Sutlej. In the *Dawal Rānī*, Amīr Khusrāu calls the place 'Manjūr-i-jāran,' the name being twisted to suit the rhyme. The 'Qar Maikhūr' of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* is apparently a misreading for 'Jāran Manjūr.' I am inclined to agree with Barnī, or rather his editor, in identifying Jāran Manjūr with Jalandhar.

¹ *Allusions to war and holy war*

² Used in a restricted sense, meaning Oudh and the Doab only

a distance which was longer than the day of the idle, the victorious army passed more quickly than the lives of the busy. On Thursday, 12 Jamādius Ṣanī, A.H. 705 they overtook the doomed enemy. Immediately on seeing the dust of the Muslim army, the grovelling Mughals became like particles of sand, revolving above and below. Hard-lived though they were, their souls fled out of them, nor could their iron hearts remain in their places to serve as anchors for their souls. Like a swarm of gnats warring against a hurricane, in proportion to their attempt to move forward, they were taken further back. And the Angel of Death cried out to them 'Flight shall not do you any good if you fly from death or slaughter.' From necessity (rather than choice), they made a feeble attack though their enthusiasm had declined. But the army of the Second Alexander, which you might call an iron wall, was not a thing that would bend. It drove away those doers of the deeds of Gog; and in expectation of Divine assistance—'and He has sent an army, which you do not see'—the sharp sword began to do its work. Soon fire-coloured faces fell to the ground. One would think that the Muslim swordsmen were throwing balls of fire over running water. In this universal cutting of heads, 'Ali Beg and Tartāq, the two 'heads' of the Mughals, saw the sword above them and the time of their fall near. Their faces grew dark from the blazing heat of the all-conquering sword, and they threw themselves under the shade of the Muslim standard. 'The rays of the sword have struck us with such a fire,' they said, 'that we will never be satisfied till we have reached the "Shadow of God"'. *The man laid low with misfortunes cannot find happiness anywhere except under the 'shadow of God'.*

² The field of battle, strewn with elephant-bodied Mughals, looked like a chess-board. Their faces (castles) had been cut into two with the sword, and their bodies, pounded with the clubs (*gurz*), looked like bags for holding the chess-men. The dead Mughal lay right and left like so many captured pieces. Of the 'horses' (knights) which had filled the squares, some had been knocked down with blows and others had been captured. Such knights, as after the manner of pawns, refused to go back, were turned into foot-men (pawns), and

¹ The Qurān, chap xxxiii, sect. 2.

² *Allusions to chess.* The English names of the pieces differ considerably from the Persian. I have put the equivalents in brackets

since they moved still further, they became *farzin* (queens), i.e. they were made to place their heads on the ground.¹ 'Alī Beg and Tartāq, the two kings of the chess-board, were checkmated by their large-boned enemy, the Malik Akhur Beg, who wished to send them to the Emperor, so that *he may either spare their lives or else cast them under the feet of the elephants (bishops)*.² When Satan's puppets, i.e. the infidel troops, were brought bound before the Imperial throne, the two adventurers, who had claimed equality (with the Sultān), cast their eyeballs like dice on the carpet of submission, and appealed to the Emperor's manliness in order to save their lives. Two different orders were given concerning these 'red and white ones';³ some were to be put to death and others imprisoned. The two captured pieces,⁴ who had hitherto remained in suspense, were brought to their prison and freed from the danger of death. In the course of time one of them died, without any harm having been done to him, and the other remained alone. *The Emperor was so successful in the sport that he took their lives in one game after another.*⁵

¹ i.e. the Mughal horsemen were unhorsed and then killed

² Allusions to the game of *nard*. An account of the game will be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl.

³ In allusion to the colour of the Mughals and the pieces in the game of *nard*.

⁴ i.e. 'Alī Beg and Tartāq.

⁵ During the eight years, A.H. 697 to 705 Dehlī was twice besieged, first by Kutlugh Khwāja and then by Targhī. Amir Khusrāu was not ignorant of these events, he refers to Kutlugh Khwāja and Targhī in the *Dawal Rāni* and he speaks in the above passage of Targhī's previous experience of India. But respect for 'Alāuddīn's dignity required an omission of the two most important Mughal campaigns.

This campaign is described by most historians. 'On one occasion' says Barnī, 'Alī Beg and Tartāq were the leaders of the Mughal army. They were famous men and 'Alī Beg was reputed to be a descendant of the accursed Chengīz. Skirting the mountains, they reached the territory of Amroha with thirty or forty thousand men. Sultan 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Nāik, the Akhur Beg, with the Muslim army against them. The two forces came to battle within the confines of Amroha and God gave victory to the army of Islām. 'Alī Beg and Tartāq were both captured alive. The larger part of the Mughal army was put to the sword, scattered and dispersed. The slain Mughals were piled up on the field of battle like stacks of corn. Ropes were fastened round the necks of 'Alī Beg and Tartāq and they were brought before the Sultan with many other Mughal prisoners. Twenty thousand horses belonging to the Mughals were brought before the Court. A magnificent *darbar* was prepared at the Chautra-i-Subhānī. The Sultan sat in public audience and the army stood in a double row from the royal seat to Indarpat. Owing to the enormous multitude, the price of a cup of water rose to twenty *ḥilals* or *half-a-tanka*. Through such a crowd, 'Alī Beg and Tartāq, together with other Mughals and their baggage, were taken to the throne.

Account of another victory and the slaughter of the Mughal tumāns, who had raised an uproar under the dog, Kapak. ¹ When the fierce² infidel army (God destroy it!) came proudly like autumn into the garden of Hindustān, the southernmost of the fertile countries, towards the end of Diy,³ dust arose from the borders of the land of Sind and the inhabitants threw away their property and dispersed like autumnal leaves. But the storm of destruction, being unable to raise any dust in the regions of Kohrām and Sāmāna, turned towards the wilderness of Nāgore, and overpowered the inhabitants of that region. When the stench of these doomed carcass-eaters led by a hound increased, the sweet Nagori rose, which smells like rubbed sandalwood, turned fetid. Messengers fast as the wind brought news of this stench to the perfumed palace of the victorious Emperor, whose virtues are fragrant like the navel of a musk-deer. In abhorrence of those men with stinking brains, he ordered the Muslim army to proceed against them, but the news was to be kept a secret, lest in fear of the approaching sandal, the horrid stench should fly back to the fragrant willows of Khorasan. The Malik of fragrant virtues, 'Izzud-doulah waddīn Kāfūr-i Sultānī (May the Imperial Court be perfumed with his talents!) was appointed to lead the army. The deer-riding lions went so quickly that they made no distinction between the darkness of night and the light of dawn till they had reached their stinking prey. And when the turmeric-coloured dust of the holy

The captive Mughals were cast under the feet of elephants. And stream of blood did flow'.

The commander of the army of Islam, on this occasion, was a Hindu. The *Mir'at-i Sikandari* says that Nāiks are a tribe of outcaste Rājputs. Be this as it may, the surname 'Naik' is common enough today. The following lines from Khusrāu's *Dawal Rānī* leave no doubt as to Malik Nāik's religion. 'As he (Targhī) wished to injure the Faith through his infidels, Fate decreed that he should meet his death at the hands of an infidel (Hindū). The soil of the wilderness drank the blood of the armies of 'Alī Beg and Tartāq when the two Turkish Khāns were suddenly captured by a Hindū slave (servant) of the Court and the conflagration was quelled by the sharpness of the Imperial sword'.

Nizāmuddīn contents himself with summarising Barnī. Ferishta has Tarqāl Khwāja for Tartāq, and says that the Muslim army was commanded by Malik Mānik (an obvious misreading for Malik Nāik) and Ghazī Malik Tughlaq. 'The Sultān', he adds, 'distributed the captured horses equally among the amīrs and ordered the eight thousand Mughal heads, which had been brought, to be used instead of stones and bricks for the towers of Sirī, which were then being built.'

¹ Or Kabak. Kabik in '*Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*', Kank in Ferishta. Barnī says Kapak. A *tuman* usually consisted of ten thousand horse

² Allusions to smells.

³ Winter or the first month of it, December.

warriors had bathed the janice-smelling Mughals, the latter also became fragrant. ¹ On the banks of the Ab-i 'Alī² the Mughals were overtaken by a weak wave from the swelling stream of Muslim enthusiasm. The accursed Kapak fell into a rushing torrent of swords and began to strike out his hands and feet, the sharp sword was about to cut off his head, when the kind-hearted Mussalmāns rushed in from all sides and took him prisoner, in order to send the water-dog with the other aquatics to the Imperial Court. All the followers of Kapak were either killed or imprisoned; some were shot with arrows and became cold where they stood, the rest had still some water from the stream of life left, but the wind of Divine wrath blew against them and they were put into chains.

Another Mughal army, under Iqbāl Mudbīr³ and Mudābīr Tāi Bū, followed close behind Kapak's, thirsty for the blood of Mussalmāns, but well filled with the blood of their own tribes. Suddenly a torrent of blood of the slaughtered infidels flowed towards them, but as they were well accustomed to such a flood, they dived to the bottom. The swelling stream of blood, however, reminded them of the sharp sword, for a great slaughter was awaiting them. Though they tried to strike out their feet, they found no space to stand on. Meanwhile the van of the Muslim army advanced like clouds and rain, and fell like a raging storm on these men from Jāihūn. All of them fled from the rain of arrows, and wished like dogs to seek refuge in any gutter. On every side the army advanced like waves of a deluge *that goes over mountains and caverns with tumult and noise*. ⁴ News was brought to the commander of the Muslim troops⁵ that the Mughals had two heads, one Iqbāl and the other Tāi Bū. When the right wing of the Imperial army fell upon them, they lost all consciousness of hand and feet, and the two Mughal leaders were

¹ *Allusions to water*

² *Ferīṣhta* says Nilab, Barni and Nizamuddin say the battle took place at Khakar. According to the *Dawal Rani*, 'the Mughals crossed the territory of Multan and began to ravage the land of the Ravi.' This seems more accurate. I am inclined to believe that the advance guard under Kapak first came to Multan and then marched up the river Ravi which in those days flowed near Multan. After the defeat of Kapak on the bank of the Ravi, the Mughal contingents of Iqbal and Tāi Bū tried to fly away across the same ford of the Indus. Khusrau gives no dates for this invasion and his geographical references are perplexing.

³ i.e. Iqbāl, the coward.

⁴ *Allusions to parts of the human body.*

⁵ i.e. Malik Kāfūr.

flying by the same passage across the Sind (Indus). But as they had forgotten their 'feet', neither did their 'feet' remember their 'heads'; and it was high time for the Imperial sword to strike off their 'heads' and throw them before their 'hands' and 'feet'!¹ ² So by the *firmān* of the commanders of the army, bold and strong-armed warriors took their swords in hand, spurred their horses across the extensive desert and soon overtook the retreating Mughals. In that garden of death heads were struck off and necks were cut open, so that the sword sometimes reached the throat and sometimes the waist. *Owing to the sword of the holy warriors, the deluge of blood came up to the nose of the infidels; yet not a drop of blood came out of a Musslamān's nose.* When the victorious army, which had girded up its loins for holy war in defence of the Faith of the Lord, saw conclusive proof of the text, —'And surely Allān will help him who helps His cause'—it enacted the scenes of resurrection on the innumerable bodies of these accursed wretches. You would have thought that the Day of Judgment had arrived, and that the angels of the Lord were collecting the dead bodies of stony-hearted infidels to light the fire of Hell, 'of which men and stones are the fuel.' Countless infidels having been sent to Hell in that extensive territory, another great multitude of them was consigned to the angels of torture to be put in 'chains and shackles' and brought to the review. At the head of the chain was the accursed Kapak, a hound from amongst the hounds of Hell. He had been captured among the *amīrs* of Jar Tāi Bū's *tumān* and testified with him to the fact that the people of the north had resorted to flight. All the other (Mughals) were either despatched to the pit of Hell or else put in the same chains with those destined for that place. The virtuous Malik³ moved back with his troops to the Court of the august Emperor (May his kingdom last for ever!). Time after time he kept on sending fresh news to the Lord's deputy,⁴ and was in reply favoured with a robe of honour. Finally he reached the Imperial Court, and brought the hellish crew to the muster of the Judgment

¹ Alluding to the Mughal loss of *morale*. The 'heads' would be the leaders, Iqbāl and Tāi Bū, the 'hands' and 'feet' would be the officers and men.

² *Allusions to the day of judgment.* The quotations following are from the Qurān.

³ Malik Kāfūr. Iqbāl is here said to have been captured among the *amīrs* of Tāi Bū's *tumān*, but according to Khusraū's previous statement he had been captured in the battle on the bank of the Ravi.

⁴ i.e. 'Alāuddīn.

Day. 'When the earth is shaken with her (violent) shaking,' cried the huge elephants as they threw most of these cotton wearers (i.e. Mughals) high up in the air; and (the cotton wearers) became like 'loosened wool' ¹ But as even the enormous elephants, who are like strong houses on moving pillars, were not able to destroy all the desolators of this country, order was given that the base of the towers of the Fort (*kangar-i-hiṣār*) was to be constructed from the blood and bones of the remaining (Mughals). Immediately in obedience to the Imperial command, *Tātārs and Chinese were hung from the Fort as negroes*² *with heads inverted hang down from a new building.* ³ Owing to the mixture of the Mughal bodies with the material of the towers, the confluence of Mars and Saturn was witnessed, and the evil influence of the confluence fell on the lives of these men of Mars. For even after all the towers had been constructed, many of these doomed men were left. Their wretched heads were cut off with shining swords and a bastion, so high that it touched the head of the sky, was formed of them. Mars hung its head (in shame) at the sight. *The constellations of the sky have but a single 'head,' but here you may see a hundred thousand 'heads' in a single constellation (bastion).*

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NOTE ON THE INVASIONS OF KAPAK IQBAL AND TAI BU.

Later historians have so confused the account of these generals that I have, for the sake of clearness, reserved their discussion for a separate note

As to the other authorities, Amīr *Khusrau* has devoted some lines of his *Dawat Rānī* to the same campaigns. 'After this (defeat of *Alī Beg* and *Tartāq*) three fierce (Mughal) generals, who moved more rapidly than the wind, crossed the territory of *Multān* and began to ravage the land of the *Rāwī*. One of them was *Tāi Bū*, the other was *Iqbāl Mudbir* and the third was *Kapak*, wise in war and revenge. Their armies, innumerable as grains of sand (had come) to take revenge for the fate of *Tartāq* and 'Alī Beg. According to his custom, the Emperor ordered the Minister of the State, *Kāfūr* (camphor), to disperse the stench of *Tāi Bū*, so that no trace of it may remain. The great warrior marched rapidly, and crossing two stages in one night, came upon the Mughals like a storm and dispersed their wretched ranks. The blood of the *Tātārs* rose high up to the breast of the horses in that extensive desert. The infidel dogs fled in panic, the holy warriors pursued

¹ *Allusions to buildings.*

² Or, in the alternative, 'Zangis,' a Turkish tribe. *Khusrau* calls the Mongols by various names—*Tatars*, *Turks*, *Chinese* and *Mughals*. This is not really inaccurate, for they are all sections of the same Mongolian race and the Mongols freely enlisted their kindred tribes in their armies. The Mongols, who have given their name to the whole race, seem to have been a minor tribe in the days before *Chengiz Khan*. The fort referred to is the *Hazar Sutun Palace* or *Koshak-i Sirī*.

³ *Allusions to stars.*

them like lions. Iqbāl and Tāi Bū fled from the battle-field toward the rivers. Though they had collected spoils before this, now the preservation of their own heads was all they wished for. The Army of Faith advanced like a river and Kapak was drowned, it pounced like a falcon and carried off Kapak as if he was a partridge. A collar was placed round the neck of the great hound and he was sent to the Emperor of the World' In spite of the mixed metaphors, these lines will leave on the reader the impression that Iqbāl, Tāi Bū, and Kapak were three generals taking part in the same campaign, though, of course, each commanded a different army.

Barnī's account is loose and inaccurate.

'On another occasion, in another year, the army of Islām came to a battle with the accursed Kank and the Mughal troops at Khakar. God granted victory to Muslim arms. The accursed Kank, leader of the Mughal army, was brought captive and alive before the Sultān's throne, and there cast under the feet of elephants. On this occasion also, either in the field of battle or else after being brought to Delhī, enormous numbers of Mughals were slain. A tower of their heads was raised before the Badāun Gate, people see it till to-day and it reminds them of,' Alāuddīn

'On another occasion, in another year, three or four Mughal *amīrs* of *tumans* broke into the Siwālīks suddenly and heedlessly with thirty or forty thousand horse and engaged in plunder and slaughter. 'Alāuddīn sent the army of Islām against them with orders to seize the road by which the Mughals were to return to the river, when the Mughals returned thirsty to the water-side, it was to mete out their punishment to them. The Muslim army seized the passages of the Mughal retreat and encamped by the river-side. As God had ordained, having laid waste the Siwālīks and travelling a long distance thence, the Mughals and their horses reached the river thirsty and in disorder. The Muslim army, which had been waiting for their return for a few days, obtained the desired supremacy over them. The Mughals, taken by surprise, begged for water from the Muslim army. They were all taken captive along with their women and children. A great victory had crowned the Muslim arms. Thousands of Mughals were sent to the fort of Narāniya with ropes round their necks, their women and children were brought to the Delhī slave-market and sold away like Hindustānī slaves. The Malik Khās-i-Hājīb was sent to Narāniya from the capital. He went there and put unhesitatingly to the sword all the Mughals who had been brought to the fort after the victory. Streams ran with their foul blood.

'In another year Iqbālmandah came with the Mughal army. Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent the army of Islām from Delhī against them. This year also the Muslim army gained a victory over the Mughals. After a feebly fought battle, Iqbālmandah was slain and thousands of Mughals were put to the sword. The *hazara* and *sada amīrs*, who had been caught alive, were brought to Delhī and cast under the feet of elephants. On the occasion when Iqbālmandah was slain, no Mughal escaped alive.'

Two later historians deserve citation.

'In the year A.H. 705,' says Ferishta, 'one of the great *amīrs* of Dāwa Khān, named Kank, came with a large army to seek revenge for a 'Alī Beg and Khwāja Taryāl. He had passed the precincts of Multān and reached the Siwālīks, when Ghāzī Malik Tughlaq prepared his army for battle and seized the banks of the river Nilāb, thus cutting off the Mughal retreat. The Mughals plundered and ravaged, then after a long journey, when the air was hottest, they came back to the banks of the Nilāb with inflamed livers and parched, lips ignorant of the snare of their enemy. But when they saw the river of life in the enemy's hands, they naturally despaired of their lives and gave battle to the army of Hindustān. Most of the Mughals were slain, Kank was captured alive while

those who escaped from the battle-field died of thirst in the forest. Their women and children were taken prisoners. This was a strange event, for out of fifty or sixty thousand Mughals not more than three or four thousand were left alive. Ghāzi Malik, who became very famous on account of this victory, sent Kank with a large number of Mughal prisoners to the Sultān. 'Alāuddīn had Kank and his comrades thrown under the elephants' feet near the Hazar Sutun Palace, and then constructed a tower of Mughal heads in the plain before the Badāun Gate. It is said that traces of it remain till to-day. This year the Mughal women and children were sold in Delhī and the rest of Hindustān like Hindi prisoners of war.

'A long while after this a Mughal, named Iqbālmānd, came to Hindustān with an immense army and wrought much damage. But Ghāzi Malik Tughlaq marched against Iqbālmānd and after slaying him sent many live Mughals to Delhī to be trodden down by the enormous elephants. Fear and terror now overtook the Mughals, the desire of coming to Hindustān was washed off from their breasts, and they created no trouble till the end of Sultān Qutbuddīn's reign. Ghāzi Malik Tughlaq was stationed at Depālpūr. Every year he led expeditions to Kābul, Ghaznī, Qandhār and Garmsīr, plundered and ravaged those regions and levied tribute from their inhabitants. The Mughals had not the courage to come and defend their own frontiers against him.'

Nizāmuddīn's account is based on Barnī

'Next time a Mughal, named Kabik, came with a large army and fought a battle with the army of Delhī at Khakūn. Most of the Mughals were slain and a tower of their heads was constructed near the Badāun Gate.

'After a while a Mughal army of thirty thousand horse came to the Siwālīks and began to plunder. When the Sultan heard of it, he sent a large army against them. The army of Delhī seized the banks of the Rāwī, across which the Mughals had to return, and when the Mughals, loaded with spoils, came to the river-side, the army of Delhī advanced and defeated them. Many Mughal officers were captured and imprisoned in the fort of Tarāīnah, which is situated in that neighbourhood, while their families and followers were brought to the City and sold as slaves. After this the Malik Khās-i Hājib was ordered to go to Tarāīnah to put the prisoners to death.

'A long time after this Iqbālmāndah, a famous Mughal, came to India with a large army. An engagement took place between him and the army of Delhī at Datadahindah. Amīr 'Alī (?) Iqbālmāndah was slain and the other Mughals were brought to Delhī, where they were thrown under the feet of elephants.'

Of the five accounts before us, Nizāmuddīn merely summarizes Barnī and need not be further considered. The only addition he makes is the identification of the river mentioned by Barnī with the Rāwī. Ferīṣhta apparently had only Nizāmuddīn and *Dawal Rānī* before him, and plays havoc with facts and names. Of the three original authorities *Tārīkh-i-Firozī*, *Dawal Rānī* and *Khazāinul Futūh* the last two are fairly consistent, but it is difficult to reconcile them with the *Tārīkh-i-Firozī*. Amīr Khusrau speaks of the three generals as if they had planned a joint push, Kapak leading the advanced contingents while the other two marched behind. Malik Kāfur (not Ghāzi Malik as in Ferīṣhta) was the commander of the Delhī army. Barnī speaks of three campaigns in three different, if not successive, years. The first is led by Kapak, the name of the commander of the second is not given, while the third is assigned to Iqbālmāndah. I am inclined to agree with Amīr Khusrau, who wrote during 'Alāuddīn's reign while Barnī's paragraphs may not have been written till years after. Military matters did not interest Barnī, his geographical knowledge was meagre and his dates are often incorrect.

(To be continued)

Reviews

THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUTALYA¹

BY

J. J. MEYER

THE German School of Orientalists have spared no pains to make a close, elaborate and detailed study of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya with a view to arrive at a satisfactory decision, as far as may be final and conclusive, regarding the authenticity of the author, and the date of its composition. The chief among these scholars are Drs. H. Jacobi, J. Jolly, M. Winternitz, J. J. Meyer, Otto Stein and Bernhard Bieloer. The patient and careful researches of these well-known scholars have led to different conclusions, with the result that the German School has divided itself into two branches. One supports the Indian traditional view-point, namely, that Kautilya is the accredited author of the extant Arthaśāstra and was the Chancellor of the first Maurya king, Chandragupta Maurya. To this branch belong Professors Jacobi, J. J. Meyer and others. The other branch, represented by equally distinguished scholars such as Professors Jolly and Winternitz, takes the view judging from this treatise on political science, that the author could not have been a statesman but only a paṇḍit, and that the work itself must have been written in a later age, perhaps after the third century A.D. Professor Jolly agrees with Dr. Winternitz in almost all the points and still he could not help concluding that from the intimate knowledge Kautilya possesses as regards every method of a working administration, he must have been at least 'an official in a State of medium size where he had obtained insight into the working of the administration.'

¹ *Das Altindische Buch Vom Welt-und-Staatsleben Das Arthaśāstra Des Kautilya* by Dr. Johann Jacob Meyer (Published by Otto Harrassowitz, Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig 1925-1926).

Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, edited by Jolly and Schmidt, Intro., p. 47.

This was exactly the position when Dr. J. J. Meyer published his invaluable work on the *Arthasāstra*. Professor Meyer is a distinguished student of Sanskrit literature, and is the author of another solid work 'Über das Wesen der Altindischen Rechts-schriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭalya.' In this latter work he has made a deep study of the extant Smṛti texts or law-books, and has established a thesis for revising the accepted chronology of the Smṛtis. Most of the theories are strikingly original and must find general acceptance among scholars. His comparative study of the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya led to a special and more useful study of the *Arthasāstra* itself. There were three good editions of the text of the *Kauṭalya Arthasāstra* edited respectively by Dr. R. Shāma Śāstri of Mysore, Dr. Jolly of Würzburg and Dr. Ganapati Śāstri of Trivandrum. There was besides a translation in English of the *Arthasāstra* by Dr. Shāma Śāstri. Professor Meyer was obviously tempted to bring out a new translation of the text, and this he attempted in his own language, the German. Perhaps he felt that the existing translation in English required a thorough revision in places in the light of fresh materials on the subject, and that a translation in German would be better appreciated by his own countrymen than if he had produced another translation in English. Whatever be the motive that actuated him to translate the work in German, the work done by him shows great care and attention devoted to it extending over a number of years, so much so that the Kauṭalya study has become more or less his life-study.

The complete work on the subject covers six parts of 891 pages, solidly printed, with a literal translation of the whole *Arthasāstra* with elaborate notes on every important technical word, noting the different readings of the text and giving his own reading in some places, or accepting the alternate readings of the texts. This is a bold venture born out of vast and deep specialization in the complicated subject of Indian politics and economics. We can well say that he has achieved distinguished success in his great endeavour. Though he has done the whole work in German, it is pleasant reading to even an ordinary student of German. His is a flowing style, and his expressions are free, clear and simple and hence easily understandable. In presenting his translation he has not failed to consult the existing literature on the subject, the different commentaries extant, the

Nayaçandrika, *Bhattachasvamin*, and *Śrīmūtam*, and also modern studies on the subject like Nag's *Les theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et la Arthaśāstra*, Stein's *Megasthenes* and *Kautalya*. In his elaborately written foreword of eighteen pages, Dr. Meyer regrets that he could not appreciate their theses. (Vorwort, p. 15.)

His footnotes are at once valuable, elaborate and critical. He is not fully satisfied with them and has been forced, in the light of further new materials, to publish a *Nachtrag* or supplement to the notes. The supplement covers more than 220 pages packed with a wealth of detail which will be valuable to every critical student of the *Arthaśāstra*. This is not the place to examine elaborately either the translation or the notes, or even the addendum. Still we may point out a few places where there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars, and the actual points of view the learned author of this work has taken. On p. 45 in the footnotes, concerning Bk. 1, ch. 18, he would retain Shamaśāstri's *martum* in place of Jolly's *bhartum*, and also *mukhyaputram apasarpāh* for Ganapati's *mukhyaputrāpasarpāh*. Again on p. 90 (Bk. 11, ch. 7) he translates *Pancabanda* and *daśabanda* as *funffache* (fivefold) and *zehnfältige* (tenfold). The real interpretation, on the authority of Viṣṇānēśvara, is one-fifth and one-tenth. On pp. 159 and 160 we have an interesting examination of weights and measures such as *tula*, *dharana*, *bhājanī*, *drona*, etc.

On p. 312 (Bk. 11, ch. 20) the phrase गक्याजोवकादीन् is translated as the Buddhists and the Jains. Apparently Dr. Meyer has adopted the variation in the Munich Manuscript for the phrase जोवकादीन्. The variation is unintelligible for the word *Śākya* means the Buddha or a member of his family and cannot mean a Buddhist generally. Hence it is clearly an interpolation of later times.¹ Therefore, it is better to retain the other reading जोवकादीन् meaning 'mendicants who are unorthodox' or adopt a prefix आ to the word, and make it an *ajivaka*, as suggested, meaning members of the mendicant order different from the Buddhists and the Jains. It is hazardous in our opinion to build anything like a theory on the

¹ See K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 114.

slender basis of a doubtful and disputed passage. On p. 342, the title of the chapter (वाक्यकर्मानुयोग) (Bk. iv, ch. 8) is translated *Wort-verhör* (examination by word) and *folterverhör* (trial by torture). This is no improvement on the translation of Shāma Śāstri 'trial and torture to elicit confession.' The title simply means 'enquiry on evidence and action thereon.' The word '*karma*' loses all its technical legal sense if it is merely translated as '*folter*' or torture. It simply means 'action,' and here it is judicial action. It is not clear how the word came to mean torture, and at least this is not the sense in which Kautilya uses the term.

On pp. 406 and 407 (Bk. vii, ch. 1) there is a long and useful footnote on the term *dvaiddhībhāva* which is rendered into German 'Doppel spiel' which is double dealing. Other meanings such as Doppel heit (deceit) and *Doppel zustand* (double position) are also given. The actual position of *dvaiddhībhāva*, as it obtains in the Kautilya, is discussed rather elaborately.

On p. 488 (Bk. vii, ch. 18) there is an interesting note on the term *samhitaprayānika* which is rendered into German *Verbundeter* or an allied power. This may perhaps refer to the *Alluerter* or ally *sāmavāyika* at the end of chapter 4. Here it occurs सामवायिके संभूय यायान् । and this is *sambhūyaprayānika*. The ally referred to in the last expression is narrowed down in importance. Perhaps it may be an example to show that in the last war, while England was 'an allied power' of France, America was an 'associated power.' The example cited is more fitting in the passage referred to. The supplement, to which we have already made a reference, is particularly valuable as giving us different readings of the texts. He has compared the readings given by Pandit Ganapati Śāstri, and the consequent interpretations with those of others, and has put all of them to the critical test. In the course of his remarks he has given parallel passages and stanzas from contemporary and other literature including the *Dharmaśāstras*, other *Nītisāstras*, and the *Itihāsas*. For example, he has given for the term *Godāna*, meaning given by Hopkins (*J.A.O.S.*, vol. 13), by Yājñavalkya and Manu, by Nandarijkar on the *Raghuvamśa* passage, by Mallinatha, and in the *Parask-grihyasūtra*. Thus he has brought together all the references known to him in a nutshell. This is only to show how the learned translator has made his notes

more valuable than the translation itself. His real researches are embodied in these notes presented to us with conspicuous ability and judgment. In the foreword and introduction covering full eighty pages, Dr. Meyer has reopened the whole question of the authenticity of the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, and has conclusively proved that the extant Kautilya is the accredited work of the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya. Hence it is a composition of the fourth century B.C., and not third century A.D. To establish the latter date, some inconclusive and most ingenious arguments have been advanced and these have failed to carry conviction to, and general acceptance among, scholars. On p. 20 the learned Professor examines, the untenable theory of Hillebrandt that the extant work belongs to a school and not to a single author. On p. 22 the evidence of Megasthenes, is discarded as valueless from more than one point of view, and thus falsifying the thesis of Dr. Otto Stein that Chānakya was not the Chancellor of Chandragupta. His arguments as regards Megasthenes, can be summarized categorically (1) that Megasthenes is actuated by an idealizing tendency; (2) that he imports often the institutions of other countries to Indian conditions, (3) that the reports available are only fragments and it is therefore wrong to build any theories with an *argumentum en silentio*, (4) and that Megasthenes had no knowledge of Indian languages and that his information was not first-hand, and therefore, mere hearsay. Some of the best arguments against the authenticity of the author like the one that Patanjali does not mention Kautilya, or Kautilya does not mention Pataliputra are all treated, as *argumentum en silentio*, and therefore deserving of no serious attention.

We could not enter in detail here into every aspect of the question dealt with in his lengthy, but well written, introduction. The questions that the author is only a pandit and not a statesman, that his name is Kauṭalya and not Kauṭilya, that he uses the term *suranga* which is a Greek expression, *syrinx*, are all discussed with ability. We would have wished the learned translator had adopted uniformly Kauṭalya instead of Kauṭilya. For there is reliable evidence to the effect that all the manuscripts of the text and the commentaries relating to the same invariably contain the term Kauṭalya. Further the late lamented Ganapati Śāstri has conclusively proved that neither the term *Kauṭilya* nor its root *Kuṭila* is explained in the *Nīghantū*s as *Gotraṣṣi*, and

crooked, while *Kutala* is a distinct gotra name. But a question may reasonably be asked how it was that he became known as Kauṭilya. The explanation is not far to seek. Kauṭalya was such a consummate and skilled politician, such an able statesman and a true Pandit, having mastered all sciences, that others occupying a similar position looked with prejudice and envy; and perhaps it was the author of *Mudrarakṣasa* that first gave this name to him, in his own sarcastic and humorous way. The drama became so popular that people became more familiar with this name than with his true name. In India it has been a custom to invest every true hero and heroine with the hallow of myth, and naturally mythical accounts grew around this notable figure. Can we say on this account that there was no Kautalya, either the Chancellor or the author or both. Such a view is neither possible nor probable in the face of the strong tradition handing down his name. The learned German scholar takes the view, quite rightly in our opinion that Kautalya was the author of the extant *Arthaśāstra* and that he was the Chancellor of the first Maurya Emperor.

Dr. Meyer is a humourous writer and knows well how to repay his opponent in his own coin and without in the least offending him. He refers¹ to Whately's work 'Historical Doubts concerning Napoleon', wherein is proved that Napoleon I did not exist and that he was only a mythical figure. Will anyone seriously take notice of this fact, asks Dr. Meyer. The Kauṭaliyan problem is just the same. There may be legends and stories written in later days, and on this account it would be nothing short of absurdity to say that Kautalya as a person did not exist. It is to set at nought India's glorious tradition which, according to the late V. A. Smith, is the sole source of undated history.

There is one point where we cannot see eye to eye with the learned scholar. On p. 56 of his introduction he seems to opine that Kauṭalya is swayed more by expediency than by high moral considerations. Mahāmahopādya Ganapati Śāstri has already proved that in his recommendations or prescriptions Kautalya has not sacrificed principles of morality at the altar of the State, and that the *Arthaśāstra* must be regarded as equivalent to *Dharmaśāstra*.² Whether the *Arthaśāstra* is secular or follows the *Dharmaśāstras*, has been discussed in a lengthy

¹ Introduction, p. 53.

² *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya, vol. III (Trivandrum ed., Intro., p. 4).

contribution¹ by the reviewer and it has been conclusively shown that the author of the extant work is swayed by high moral considerations. Apparently Dr. Meyer is not aware of some Indian publications in the shape of articles and books on the *Arthaśāstra*. For example, he has not referred to Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity* or K. P. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*. Nor has he any reference to contributions on the subject in Indian Research Journals, and Proceedings of the Oriental Conferences.

In the later pages of his Introduction, the learned German orientalist takes the right view that *Artha* is important for fulfilling the objects of life which are beautifully expressed in one word the *Trivarga* in Sanskrit literature or the *muppal* of Tamil literature. He briefly surveys the significance of *danda*, as specially to avert a State being plunged in *mātsyanyāya*. He also examines the conception of Hindu monarchy that the king was something more than a mere mortal being, and for the realization of *Trivarga*, the king is held to be a necessary factor. These and other topics of allied interest are raised, and we have no hesitation in concluding that Dr. Meyer's book is distinctly the best achievement among the existing studies on the *Arthaśāstra*. Differing, as we have to do with regret, from him in some minor details, we congratulate him on this great study of a technical subject as ancient Indian Economics and Politics.

The value of the work is much enhanced by an elaborate general index followed by an equally elaborate Sanskrit index. In reviewing the *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra* edited by the late T. Ganapati Śāstri in the pages of this learned journal in 1925, we suggested that a new translation in English based on the commentaries available was desirable; and may we again venture to suggest the same to scholars interested in the subject? Such a translation would throw a flood of new light, if the translator would take into account all the contributions, whether in English or other modern languages like the French and the German.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

¹ Proceedings of Third Oriental Conference, p. 615 ff

‘ ACTES DU PREMIER CONGRÈS NATIONAL
DES HISTORIENS FRANÇAIS PARIS ’

PUBLISHED BY THE FRENCH COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

THIS is a small handy volume of 95 pages containing the proceedings of the First National Congress of French Historians held in Paris in April, 1927. The Congress was opened by M. Cavalier, the Director of Higher Education and Deputy to the Minister of Public Instruction. Among the several distinguished scholars who took part in the proceedings of the Congress, the following were prominent. M. Glotz, President of the French Committee of Historical Sciences, M. Charléty, Rector of the Academy at Paris, and M. Pirenne, Vice-President of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The sessions continued for three days from the 20th to 23rd April. Generally there were two sittings on each day. Different papers on the four periods in the history of France—ancient, mediæval, modern and contemporary—were read under distinguished Presidents. There were also other sections like art, economic history and general history in which the number of papers offered and discussed was comparatively small. The proceedings show that every paper was followed by keen discussions of which a brief but useful summary is given.

‘ BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES—No. 6 ’

MAY 1929. VOL. II, PART I

PUBLISHED BY THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS

THIS interesting volume contains the proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at Oslo in 1928. One of the useful institutions relating to modern historical sciences is the International Committee of Historical Sciences, organized at Geneva, May, 1926. The Governing Board of the Committee consist of H. Koht, University of Oslo, President, B. Dembinski, University of Poznan, and A. Dopsch, University of Vienna, Vice-Presidents. K. Brandt, University of Gottingen, G. DeSanctis, University of Turin, J. Susta, University of Praha, and H. W. V. Temperley,

Cambridge University, Governors; M. Lh  ritier, Paris, Secretary-General; W. G. Leland, Washington, Treasurer. Practically every country in the world has its representatives as members of the Committee. It is a pity that India does not find a place, and still we hope the Committee will include in the near future historians from India also.

The Bulletin of the International Committee is published under the Direction of the Governing Board by the Secretary-General. The languages admitted to the Bulletin are English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. The object of the Congress at Oslo is mentioned as 'the promotion of research and the strengthening of international good-will.' In the course of the thrilling opening address, Prof. Koht said: 'I remember that at the International Congress of London in 1913 Mr. Trevelyan, I think, very rightly pointed out that English historical research was greatly indebted to the work of amateur historians. We are all grateful to the amateurs and the other independent investigators who help to enrich our studies with new ideas and new researches. But all this independent personal work needs *the corrective of professional discussion*. *All our ideas and preliminary results will gain by undergoing the ordeal of being talked over with fellow investigators* and this is where the International Congresses come in.' (The italics are ours.) This is a true observation worthy of note. Amateur research, with the proper corrective, may blossom into flowers and even ripen into fruits.

A communiqu   dated July 1, 1929, of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, shows the varied spheres of activity in which the Committee has engaged itself. The following sub-committee or commissions have been formed. Commission for publication, commission for studies in History, commission for bibliography, commission in regard to diplomatic relations, commission in respect of the constitution, commission for a retrospective bibliography of the periodicals, commission for revision of chronological tables, and commission for iconography. It is unnecessary for us to add that the reports of these different sub-committees will be an interesting literature by itself and will enrich modern historical studies.

**‘THE PĀṆḌYAN KINGDOM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY’**

BY

MR. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

Luzac & Co. 277pp Price Rs 6.

MR. NILAKANTA SASTRI has rendered real service to the cause of South Indian history by bringing out in book form, with suitable amplification and revision, his University Lectures on the Pāṇḍyas, delivered in 1926. The book contains sixteen chapters and the author gives a clear and connected account of all that can be definitely known about the history of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom from the period of the Śaṅgam up to the sixteenth century A.D. His has been a laborious task of gleaning the truth about past events from a bundle of legends, often unbelievable in nature, and also from a large mass of epigraphical material, a proper interpretation of which demands a fairly good knowledge of even astronomy. Having regard to the difficulties of the subject, it must be stated that Mr. Śāstri has made the best of a bad job. He has arrived at conclusions which are, in the main, acceptable and he has not allowed rival theories of scholars to perplex him. To say this is to say a great deal in his favour, for, there happen to be, at the present time, as many theories as there are investigators, some of whom are, by their eminence and erudition, well qualified to ‘lay down the law’ in such matters. Of necessity, Mr. Śāstri has had to adopt an attitude of reserve and caution so as to avoid ‘fruitless controversy’, as he himself remarks in his Introduction. Perhaps he has kept this idea a trifle too prominently in his mind, for, the reader sometimes desires to know what views the author himself holds on some controversial questions and why. For instance, the reader does feel disappointed and dissatisfied that Mr. Śāstri does not give a definite lead on the question of the Śaṅgam. The author has, in his own words, made ‘the discussion on the vexed question quite general’ and ‘based it on broad considerations in order to avoid getting lost in minutiae’. Caution is laudable in a historian, especially in one who has to tackle problems which arise out of the paucity of historical evidence. But it is just such problems that press for solution at the hands of well-informed scholars. Again, in a book on the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, one has a right

to expect some kind of a satisfactory account of the one outstanding institution, the Śāṅgam, which shed lustre and glory upon South India in general and the Pāṇḍya country in particular. Every lover of South India must feel legitimately proud that if North India could boast of the universities of Taxila, Nālanda and Benāres, he had the Madura Śāṅgam to his credit. Mr. Śāstri could very well have examined this point a little more thoroughly and given us his own opinion (instead of merely referring us to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar) on such questions as (1) whether there was established a body called the Śāṅgam, and if so, when, (2) what might have been the reasons for pitching upon Madura as the seat of the University and (3) why the Śāṅgam works were mainly secular in character, etc. He might have utilized (to a greater extent than he has done in p. 23) the relevant portions of the Śinnamanūr plates and given us some valuable particulars. It cannot be said that materials are insufficient. A comparison of the details in the Śinnamanūr plates with the stories of the *Tiruvilāyādal purāṇam* will show that the discerning historian has ample scope for drawing valid conclusions about the early history of the Pāṇḍyas. For instance, lines 97 and 98 of the document with the *Tiruvilāyādal* story No. 15 ; line 91 with No. 13 ; lines 99 and 100 with the 17th stanza of story No. 31. Again, the allusion in the plates to the removal of the evil effects of famine (Aḍumpaśi nāḍaharriyum) may be examined in the light of the statement in the commentary of the *Iraṇanār Ahapporul*.¹ There are many more which Mr. Śāstri will pick out for himself. It is undeniable that one may not succeed in saying the last word in such matters. But historical hypotheses must be constructed before the final conclusions can be reached, and who will undertake to do that if scholars shirk the responsibility ?

The author is equally reticent on the other 'vexed question of the Kaḷabhra occupation of the Pāṇḍyan country' (p 47). He would have earned the thanks of the reader if he had culled out from the epigraphical records (which, it is evident, he has very thoroughly used for his thesis) all those portions being references on the Kaḷabhras and given us the benefit of his observations upon them, so that we might be in a position to discover what sort of people the Kaḷabhras

¹ It appears that Mr. Śāstri had nothing but contempt for this work as a historical source

were and why they swept away the earlier empires (Aḷavariya adhirājarai ahala nikki).

As for the history of the Pāṇḍyas between the seventh and the tenth centuries A.D., reconstructed from the available Pāṇḍya charters, Mr. Śāstri has been very thorough-going in his work. He has examined the views of all previous scholars, rejecting those which he could not approve of and expressing his own conclusions very clearly. Yet, we cannot agree with him when he identifies Varaguṇa Mahārāja of the larger Śinnamanūr plates with the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant. Mr. Śāstri has taken up this view for avoiding what he considers a difficulty. He desires to avoid the 'perplexing duplication of Rāja Simha' (p. 40). Where is the perplexity in Rāja Simha (father of Varaguṇa Mahārāja) being regarded as the son of Neḍunjaḍayan, the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant? On the other hand, it seems to be best to leave Mr. Venkayya's tentative list (*Ep. Rep.* 1908, p. 66) undisturbed except for the identification of the donor of the Madras Museum plates. (He seems to be identical with the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi plates.) Otherwise, fresh difficulties crop up, which could not have escaped the notice of Mr. Śāstri. One of them is about the dates that have to be assigned to the kings. At the present stage, only three dates are well-known, i.e. (1) A.D. 862, the date of Varaguṇa Varman's accession, (2) A.D. 770 for the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant, and (3) A.D. 642, the date of the destruction of Vātāpi, the Chālukya capital. Mr. Śāstri has given tentative dates allowing thirty years for Kaḍuṅgōn, twenty-five years each for Avani Śūlāmaṇi and Śēndan, forty years for Arikēsari Māra Varman or Ninra Śīr Neḍumāran, thirty years for Kō-chaḍayan Raṇadhīra, twenty-five years for Rājasimha, fifty years for the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant and forty-seven years for Śrī Māra Śrī Vallaba. In the absence of much evidence in giving unduly long periods for the last two monarchs here named, we feel too diffident to rely upon Mr. Śāstri's dates. Scholars know that saint Appar converted Mahendra Varman who ruled from circa A.D. 600 to 625. Appar was also moving about from place to place with his friend saint Sambandar, who is known to have cured Ninra Śīr Neḍumāran of his fever. If the Neḍumāran in question ruled from 670 to 710 it is highly doubtful if Appar could have been alive, and if alive, strong enough to lift Sambandar's palanquin on his shoulders and get mixed in the crowd of Sambandar's followers, as is narrated in his life. It is almost

certain, therefore, that Neḍumāran, the saint, should have mounted the throne much earlier than A. D. 670. These difficulties can be conveniently avoided by accepting roughly the following dates:—Kaḍuṅgōn 562–592; Avani Śūlāmani 592–622; Śēndan 622–652, Ninra Śīr Neḍumāran 652–682; Ranadhīra 682–712; Ari Kēśari II 712–742; Kō-chaḍayan (donor) 742–772; Rāja Simha A. D. 772–802; Varaguna Mahārāja 802–832; Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha 832–862; Varaguna Varman 862 to (?). Here we have assigned roughly thirty years for each of the monarchs, and when we get fresh particulars we can date the monarchs more accurately.

In the sixth chapter of the book, Mr. Śāstri lets in evidence from the Mahāvamśa to prove (1) that during the reign of Sēna I, there was a Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon, and that the Pāṇḍya was victorious; and (2) that during the reign of the next king Sēna II, the Sinhalese invaded the Pāṇḍya country and established a pretender (a rebel Pāṇḍya prince) on the Pāṇḍya throne. It is doubtful if Mr. Śāstri's explanation of the Māyā Pāṇḍya can be accepted. He relies upon the dates of the Sēna kings as obtained by making the correction of twenty-four years. In spite of Dr. Hultzsch, it is very doubtful if the suggested scheme of corrections works satisfactorily. We have to accept the Mahāvamśa dates as such, allowing a fairly wide margin this side or that. Further, as Mr. Śāstri has himself noticed, there is a difference between the Śinnamanūr plates version and of the Mahāvamśa version. The former speaks of a victory for the Pāṇḍya and the latter speaks definitely about the death of the Pāṇḍya king on the battle-field. It is certain that the father of Varaguna Varman was victorious in Ceylon. Perhaps the war was due to the help rendered by the Ceylonese king to a rebel prince of the Pāṇḍya line. So Śrī Māra Vallabha might have defeated the rebel prince and also the Ceylonese king. That could have happened in the reign of Sēna I (846–866 according to the Mahāvamśa). There might have been a counter-invasion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom during the reign of Varaguna Varman, when Sēna II was ruling in Ceylon and Varaguna Varman might have been the person killed in the fight. The coronation of the rebel prince might also have happened. Then Vīra Nārāyaṇa might have ousted the rebel and mounted the throne himself. That would account for the fact that nothing of any detail is found about Varaguna Varman. Again, his not having an heir to succeed him to the throne is also explained in

this way, for he was possibly abruptly killed in the encounter with Sēna II,

The above alternative solution of the question is given not with the view of discrediting Mr. Śāstri's account, but only to demonstrate how difficult the task of the historian becomes when he makes a genuine attempt to re-construct the past. Much more co-ordination, than exists at present, becomes necessary among scholars at work in the same field of research. Mr. Śāstri has done the best that a single man can do. A thorough-going examination of the *Tēvāram* hymns and the works of Mānikka Vāsagar will be necessary before one can pronounce an opinion upon the date of Mānikka Vāsagar. Mr. Śāstri, evidently, could not find the time needed for it ¹ That is why we find Śāstri relegating this important question to a footnote on pp. 66 and 67. Without much of an argument to support him he states ' my conclusion, therefore, is that Mānikka Vāsagar must be taken to have preceded the Tēvāram Trio '. In the case of this saint, we can arrive at a reasonable date, provided we make judicious use of the material available in the *Tiruvāṣagam* in the light of the information gleaned from the Vēlvikkuḍi grant. The matter cannot, unfortunately, be entered into in greater detail here, since a special article on the subject is needed to bring out the full force of the arguments.

As for the remaining portions of the book, they are very well written by the author with his usual thoroughness and perspicuity. Yet, there is still scope for improvement. Fresh sources can be tapped so as to throw light on some obscure corners. For instance, in chapter ix, we find Mr. Śāstri struggling with the conflicting reports of the epigraphists to establish some sort of sequence of events in the reigns of some Pāṇḍya kings about whom the exact degree of relationship is not known. He says : ' A Jaṭāvarman Śrī Vallabha seems to have reigned in this period with some real power for a period of at least twenty-three years. A considerable number of his records are found in various places . . . but the historical introduction tells us nothing about the historical details of his reign ' (p. 118). ' It

¹ Similarly, his book contains no trace, in the later chapters, of his having examined the contemporary Tamil literature, with a view to give a picture of the social life at the end of the thirteenth century. He has to base his inferences upon the remarks of Marco Polo,

is not possible to determine precisely the period of his rule although there is some reason to think that he was a contemporary of Kulotunga I' (p. 119). He later on arrives, after enormous labour, at the result that the following kings reigned in succession :—(1) Jaṭavarman Śrī Vallabha, (2) Māra Vairman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Parākrama Pāṇḍya Dēva, (3) Jaṭavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, (4) Māra Varman Śrī Vallabha who had Vira Ravi Varman of Travancore as tributary, (5) Kulaśēkhara (pp. 123-25). Let us congratulate Mr. Śāstri on his success because he is, in the main, correct. Except with regard to the statement that Vira Ravi Varman was a king of Travancore and was the tributary of No. 4, he is right in his conclusions. We find the same details furnished in an untapped source. In 1906 and 1907 were published in a Tamil paper called *Tirunāvukkarasu*, the summary of the information obtained from Sīdāna Ōlaikkanakku, still found in the Swāmi Vēdamūrti Mutt at Tachalalūr in the Tinnevely District. The succession of Pāṇḍya kings found therein is as follows : (1) Ugra Pāṇḍya Rāja (A. D. 1023), (2) Alli Unḍa Rāja (A. D. 1095), (3) Parāntak (īa) Rāja (A. D. 1134), (4) Śīvilī (Śrī Vallabha) Māra Pāṇḍya Rāja (A. D. 1173), (5) Vira Kērala Rāja (A. D. 1210), (6) Kula Śēkhara Perumāl and four brothers (A. D. 1270). (In the above list, each king is the son of the king mentioned above him.)

Mr. Śāstri will readily recognize these as being the six kings named above. This document becomes particularly valuable because of the definite dates (all expressed in Śaka and in Kollam era). He can now make all the necessary alterations in his dates.

Thus, we see that fresh sources which must be examined by the research worker are the Ōlaikkanakkus preserved in mutts and temples. They do contain very valuable information.

Notwithstanding all that is stated above, by way of appreciative criticism, there is absolutely no doubt that Mr. Śāstri's book satisfies a long-felt need. It will be readily welcomed by the history-reading public as the one practically authoritative treatise on the difficult subject of the Pāṇḍyas.

The get-up of the book is good.

‘ ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE EAST,
VOL. I, “ CHAMPA ”

BY

R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.

[Dacca University published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore]

A NEW vista is just opening before the serious student of the history of Hindu India in the so-called Greater India, comprising all south-east of Asia practically and the islands of the Archipelago, at any rate the nearer ones to the coast. It is now clear—though as yet all the lines are not clearly laid—that the whole of this region had been colonized and Hinduized comparatively early, and had continued to enjoy prosperity under Hindu civilization for wellnigh thirteen centuries. The history of the beginnings of this colonial movement is lost in the mists of obscure tradition, but the brighter periods that followed the small beginnings have become more and more clearly visible, thanks to the labours of archæologists and epigraphists who have been working assiduously for more than half a century to make the hidden secrets visible. The credit of this discovery and the working up of this lost history of India are alike due to the French School entirely, so far as the continental portion is concerned, while in regard to the islands this school bears no inconsiderable share, though the Dutch may claim credit for the larger share of this work. The work of the French, which, as in other places, was more or less the product of personal enterprise, received organized support by the foundation of the school at Hanoi, L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient, in 1898. Since then the school has gone to work seriously in the studying up of all that is connected with the countries under French authority and the neighbouring islands. The results of their labour are incorporated in the Bulletin which the school issues, the ‘Toung Pao’ and a number of monographs issued from time to time by individual workers. Being all in French, the work has not become as well known in India as it should be, and Dr. Majumdar's effort is the comparatively humble one of making these known to the Indian public unacquainted with French. Apart from this difficulty of language, the conditions in regard to library facilities in India are such that even the very curious have little chance of access to these publications, necessarily

costly in their nature and erudite in their character. The work therefore consists of the inscriptions found in Champa published in text and in translation constituting Pt. II of the work of a little over 225 pages. This is prefaced by an introduction which is slightly larger being about 275 pages comprised of two parts, first the dynastic history and the next the cultural history and civilization of Champa. Of the prefatory part a little more than the first half is devoted to names and dates of history—the dry bones that are absolutely necessary for understanding the cultural history of the past not only of this region, but of any other. It is divided into chapters, each chapter referring either to a region or a period. The salient features of the history are discussed in general terms and a general or other kind of list of successions of rulers annexed to the general account. The regular history of this region seems to have begun somewhere about the second century A.D., it may have been earlier, and has gone on almost to A.D. 1500. But the fact that they founded the Hindu colonies and the process of colonization had gone on to a considerable extent when we get the first historical view, would naturally imply a previous period of colonization going on probably for some centuries. The colonies seem to have gone into this region from India, from all over the country according to Dr. Majumdar, over land from East Bengal and Assam, not necessarily from that part of the country alone. The colonies seem to have proceeded from the interior as well, but across that region, into Burma and beyond Burma. The important streams however seem to have proceeded over the sea, one centre being from Damluk, the Tamralipti of history, at the head of the Bay of Bengal and at one of the mouths of the Ganges. The next outport of importance is Gopalpur, the 'Palura Apheterion' of Ptolemy near the mouth of the Ganjam river from which all sea-going craft, of all kinds and of all sizes, sailed up along the coast to this place wherefrom they drew out amidst sea and set sail across either to the part of the continent set over against it, or south-eastwards, to the Malaya Peninsula or to the islands adjoining. A large contribution to this stream of colonization was undoubtedly made by the country in the immediate neighbourhood, the Kalinga country. But, as was already remarked above, it is not merely the Kalingas, but other people from elsewhere also—the people from the distant south and even the west coast of India—came in here and

set sail across. There were other southern ports, the ports at the mouth of the Krishna, ports on the south Madras coast, such as Kaverippattinam and Negapatam, from which this sea-going movement started. There was communication over sea between the east coast and west coast of India, and ships seem to have come in regular caravan for purposes of trade. Half a dozen places have been marked as centres of meeting of this busy maritime enterprise. The actual relations between these places and the various colonies established in the east have not all been made quite clear in the account given by Majumdar, who writes his account from the side of the colonies themselves. This defect can be made good only by knowing the history of the colonies from the monuments and making comparative studies of these with the detailed history of India for the corresponding periods, to supply the links in the chain of movement that constituted the colonial history of India. For the pursuit of this study the foundation is well and truly laid by the enterprise of Dr. Majumdar in providing a handy and readable volume based on the work of the French School at Hanoi essentially and providing the material upon which he has based his account. We congratulate the author upon the production of this work and commend the enterprise of the publishers for having brought it out. We should have very much liked the book being free from petty blemishes of writing and printing, but perhaps it is a little too much to expect that as yet. We only hope that this work and what is promised further by the author would provide the means for a better understanding of Greater India in India itself. We shall conclude the review with wishing him success in his efforts already done, as well as those necessary for what he proposes doing in the future.

‘ THE SEVEN CITIES OF DELHI—A DESCRIPTION
AND HISTORY ’

BY

COL. SIR GORDON HEARN

[Second Edition, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta]

THIS handy useful publication which has been in existence for the last twenty years is given to the public in a new edition now. The author is one who has had considerable experience of the locality in all its details and has had occasion to make a detailed study not only of the

localities, but of the literature bearing on it. As he says, he consulted something like a hundred and forty works on the subject. The new edition incorporates matter that has come to notice since the publication of the first, corrects a few errors and provides, on the whole, an excellent handbook in fourteen chapters of the various monuments of Delhi. There are six maps and about twenty-two illustrations, with the necessary background of historical material of tables of dates, etc. It is an excellent handbook which deals with the monuments in a non-technical form, and provides reliable information even to laymen visiting the place. It ought to be in the hands of everybody who wishes to visit the place, so full of ancient ruins surrounding the new rising city of the viceregal capital, Delhi.

Select Contents from the Oriental Journals

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

March-June, 1929—

- J. VIDYALANKARA : 'The date of Kanishka' expresses the view that Dr. Sten Konow's theory of A.C. 128 as the date of Kanishka's accession may be definitely accepted.
- R. D. BANERJI : 'Antiquities of the Baudh State.'
- A. BANERJI-SASTRI : 'Jayapura copper-plate of Devananda-deva.'
- V. KRISHNA RAO : 'The Identification of Kalinganagara.' The writer is inclined to believe that the site covered by the two villages, Nagara Katakam and Mukhalingam represents the ancient Kalinganagara.
- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR : 'Dravidian Notes.'
- K. P. JAYASWAL : 'The Paris Manuscript of the *Garga-Samhita*.'
- A. S. ALTEKAR : 'Further discussion about Ramagupta.' The writer considers in this contribution some of the criticisms of his new theory on the problem of Ramagupta (between the reigns of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II) in a previous issue of this Journal and adduces fresh evidence supporting his position.
- K. K. BASU : 'Account of Mubarak Shah,' the Second Sayyad ruler of Delhi. Gives a narrative of the concluding portion of Mubarak's reign which appeared in the 1928 issue of this Journal.
- K. K. BASU : 'An account of Muhammad Shah,' the Third Sayyad ruler of Delhi.
- K. K. BASU : 'The House of Tughluk.'
- SASIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI : 'Discusses the relation of the present *Vayu* and *Siva Puranas*' and concludes that the *Vayur Purana* of the Asiatic Society is a genuine *Purana* belonging to a very early age and that it has a greater claim than the *Siva Purana* to be reckoned as one of the original eighteen *Puranas*.
- S. LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGDEB : 'Rock inscription near Atagada Fort in North Ganjam.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'Note on the above inscription.' Shows how the above record usefully corroborates the statements of the Mussalman historians.

R. K. MUKERJI: 'Later Guptas of Magadha.' Answers to the criticisms of R. D. Banerji with reference to the writer's position.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London Institution)

VOL. V, Pt. II, 1929

J. M. UNVALA. 'The Palace of Darius the Great and the Apadana of Artaxerxes II in Susa.'

K. RONNOW: 'Some Remarks on Svētadvipa.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

March, 1929.

A. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR. 'The Food Legends of the East.' Makes a comparative study of the Chaldean, the Jewish and the Indian, and points out that the Brahmana account of the *Satapatha Brahmana* is the parent legend.

N. N. LALLA: 'Lord Dalhousie and the Faithful Allies of the British.'

V R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR: 'The History of the Early Buddhism in India.' Propounds the view that the Buddhist sect was an unorthodox sect like the Vrātyas, the Danavas, and that the Buddhist movement came into birth before the actual period of Gautama Buddha's teachings. In the opinion of the writer, Mahāvira and Gautama were representatives of Kshatriya movement which aimed at ascetic life. Buddha was not opposed to the caste-system and the principle of *Ahimsa* was not peculiar to this sect. According to the writer, it is incorrect to speak of a 'Buddhist India' as a whole, and concludes that early Buddhism did not exercise any influence on the history of the land.

K. H. KAMDAR: 'The year of Sivaji's birth.'

REV. H. HERAS: 'A Historical tour in search of Kadamba documents.' Gives in the course of an illustrated account a number of antiquities, inscriptions and manuscripts in Khanpur Devgiri, Golihalli, Bidi, Hubli, Banavasi, etc,

Epigraphia Indica

VOL. XIX, Pt. V

- L. D. BARNETT : 'Six inscriptions' from Kolur and Devageri.
S. KONOW : 'Shahdaur Inscriptions', one apparently of the year 60.
N. G. MAJUMDAR : 'Peshawar Museum Inscription' of the year 168.
N. G. MAJUMDAR : 'A Kharoshti Inscription' from Jamalgarhi of the year 359.
A. M. SATAGOPARAMANUJACHARYA : 'A note on the Velvikkudi grant of Nedunjadaian.
G. VENKOBA RAO : 'Kumbakonam Inscription' of Sevvappa Nayaka.
L. D. BARNETT : 'Gadag Inscription' of the reign of Jayasimha II.
L. D. BARNETT : 'Two Inscriptions' from Ron.

Indian Antiquary

May, 1929.

- HARIHAR DAS . 'The Mission of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro' to the court of Aurangazeb.

Indian Antiquary

June, 1929.

- T. K. JOSEPH : 'Was St. Thomas in S. India ?'

Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOL. XXIII, No. 4

- PRAYAG DAYAL : 'Rare Mughal Coins acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.'
PRAYAG DAYAL : 'Coins of the Husain Baiqara of Khurāsān (873-913 H).'
PRAYAG DAYAL : 'Narwar coins.'
A MASTER : 'The *Arthasāstra* on coins and minting.
C. E. KOTTWAL : 'Copper Dams of Jalālu-d-din Akbar.
G. H. OJHA : 'A gold coin of Bappa Rāwal.
S. H. HODIVĀLA : 'The 'Shahi-i-Hind coins,'

Bengal Past and Present

VOL. XXXVII, PART II

- SIR E. COTTON: 'Warren Hastings through the German eyes.'
 Examination of a play in German by Herr Lion Fenchtwanger
 in which Warren Hastings is introduced as the central figure.'
- H. HOSTEN: 'Relation of the Capuchin Missions in Egypt,
 Syria and Mesopotamia, Persia and East India.'
- P. PISSURLENGER: 'Some unknown dealings between Raghoba
 and the Portuguese.'
- D. SARVADHIKARI: 'Early public life in India.'
- B. K. BASU. 'The Cornwallis-Malet correspondence.'
- B. RAMACHANDRA RAO: 'Organised Banking in the days of
 John Company.'

*The Presidency College Magazine**March, 1929.*

- V. RANGACHARI: 'Foundation of the Gupta Empire. The
 writer concludes after a lengthy discussion that it seems to him
 that Fleet's date is the most acceptable and assumes that the
 Gupta Era marked the accession of Chandragupta I.'

*The Calcutta Review**July, 1929.*

- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'An Appreciation of the Early Life of
 Buddha.'

*The Bharati**February, 1929.*

- T. RAJAGOPALA RAO: 'Sanskrit metres in Telugu poetry.'
- A. NITYANANDA SASTRY: 'Message of Kālidāsa.'

March, 1929.

- M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA: 'Kadambas in Kalinga.'
- V. RAMAMURTHY: 'Karnātaka.'

April, 1929.

- V. VENKATARAYA SASTRY: 'Encyclopædia of Telugu grammar.'
- V. PRABHAKARA SASTRY: 'Origin of the Nominative in Telugu.'
- SESHĀDRI RAMANA KAVULU: 'Armakonda inscription of Rudra.'

SELECT CONTENTS FROM THE ORIENTAL JOURNALS 291

May, 1929.

K. RAMAKRISHNIAH : 'Languages of Northern India.'

DR. N. VENKATARAMANIAH : 'Conquests and literary patronage of Achyutadēva Rāya.'

June, 1929.

K. S. SARMA : 'Bāna and the Kādambari.'

V. VENKATARAYA SASTRY : 'Encyclopædia of Telugu grammar.'

DR. N. VENKATARAMANIAH : 'History of the Āravīdu dynasty.'

Journal of the Telugu Academy

VOL. XVII, No. 1

K. VENKATA SASTRY : 'The Poetic Skill of Peddana.'

VOL. XVII, No. 2

K. VYĀSĀCHĀRYA : 'Poet and Poetry.'

K. BRAHMIAH SASTRY : 'Methods of Literary Criticism.'

VOL. XVII, No. 5

J. RAMIAH PANTULU : 'Narasaraopet Inscription of Manuma Ganda Gopala.'

J. RAMIAH PANTULU : 'C. P. grant of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Vijayanagar.'

J. RAMIAH PANTULU . 'The family of Tyāgarāja.'

K. BRAHMIAH SASTRY . 'The Manucharitram.'

Telugu Academy Journal

VOL. XVII, No. 5

J. RAMIAH PANTULU : 'Narasaraopet Inscription of Manuma Gauda Gopala '.

This was incorporated in the *S. I. I.*, vol. vi, as No. 661, but the inscription contains only 104 lines, while that published by the author has 157 lines. Secondly, the record is shown to be of immense value as determining the date of the famous Telugu poet Tikkana. The Kakatiya ruler Ganapati and the Telugu Choda chief Manuma Siddhi were contemporaries. Ganapati ruled between s. s. 1120-1182. Manuma Ganda

Gopala of the inscription, who was the grandson of Manuma Siddhi and a contemporary and vassal of Prataparudra, the second in succession to Ganapati. Calculating backwards from Manuma Ganda Gopala, at the rate of twenty-five years a generation, Manuma Siddhi's date comes to about s. s. 1169. This falls within the regnal period. Viresalingam Pantulu also expresses a similar view in his *Lives of Telugu Poets* when he says that Tikkana was a contemporary of Ganapati. This remark is based on the literary work *Siddheswara Charitram*. This Narasaraopet inscription of Manuma Ganda Gopala, dated in s. s. 1218 confirms it.

Bharati

March, 1929.

M. S. SARMA : 'Kadambas in Kalinga'.

The writer deduces from five Eastern Ganga records, the existence in Kalinga, of a family of Kadambas whose names end with the word 'Khēdi'—*e.g.* Ugra Khēdi, Dharma Khēdi, etc. He writes that these migrated from the neighbourhood of the 'Khēd' Taluk of the Ratnagiri district. His arguments are that the nominal ending 'Khēdi' is related to the place of their origin, the existence of a Madhukeswara in the Kalinga capital and the mention of the same deity as the favourite deity of the Kadambas of Vajayanti, Palāsika and Pānungal. Pānungal is mentioned in ancient inscriptions, to be the capital of Matsya-dēsa and the Kadambas of Kalinga took the Matsya or fish as their emblem.

May, 1929.

'Achyutadevarāya's conquests and literary patronage'.

The writer mentions Achyutadevaraya's defeat of the king of Utkala which was hitherto unknown. This king of Utkala is identified with the Gajapati chief Pratāparudra. It is also said that, during the fourteen years of his rule, Achyuta Rāya had as many literary works written, but, being an ardent devotee of Sri Venkateswara, had all of them dedicated to that God. Hence it is clear that he also was a great patron of letters as was his predecessor Krishna Rāya.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM THE ORIENTAL JOURNALS

June, 1929.

DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA : ' History of the Āravidu Dynasty '.
The writer has selected 243 lines from a Manuscripts called *Bala Bhagavatamu*, belonging to Mr. Brown's collection and preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The work was written in S.S. 1469. The selected portion deals with the Āravidu dynasty and has been edited with copious notes and references to literary, epigraphic and historical sources already published. A genealogical table of the dynasty as described in the Manuscripts is also published.

The Kalabhras in South India

A REPLY

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA AIYANGAR, TAMIL LEXICON OFFICE

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR has affixed a footnote to my article on the *Kalabhras in South India* in criticism of some of my views (vide *I. H. J.*, Vol. viii, No. 22, p. 74). In my article I tried to prove that the Kalabhras were not the Kalvars, because even in the Tamil verse of the Velvikuḍi plates we find the writer of the charter use the term *Kalabhra* which he would not have done, had the two sections meant one and the same.

I have also pointed out that the Kalabhras could hardly be the Muttaraiyars inasmuch as the former were classed along with the Pāṇdyas and the Vallabhas (Chālukyas) who were the inveterate foes of the Pallavas, and whom the poet describes as standing 'anxiously and painfully long' at the door of Nandivarman Pallavamalla for audience. In regard to this the learned editor of the Journal observes 'his friends might do as well as foes, as long as they recognized the superior position of Nandivarman.' In the stanza which I have quoted in my article the poet pays a glowing tribute to the valour of the sovereign and we find him chronicling the number of his foes, who, afraid of the conqueror's prowess, had come of their own accord to pay homage and who await his convenience for audience. Instances alluding to the patient waiting of the subdued foe at the door of the victorious are not wanting. (*Silap.* 25, pp. 34-36; *Tamil Navalār Caritai* 154; Poyyamolippulavar, *ibid.*, 68; *Kalingattuparaṇi* 314-526). To say that friends too had to go through the ordeal of waiting for interviews does not appeal to us.

Again history records that the Muttaraiyars were warmly attached to the Pallava kings and were their viceroys for more than three generations. There is besides no evidence of hostility between the Muttaraiyars and the Pallavas.

According to Dr. Aiyangar the Kalabhras were the Kaḷvars who in process of time developed into Vēls and Veḷḷālas ultimately. His is perhaps reminiscent of a saying

‘கள்ளா மறவர் கனத்ததோர் அகம்படியர்

மௌள மௌள் வந்து வெள்ளாள ரானாரே’

current in certain localities. This saying may be the result of the social movements of a recent date when the term *Kaḷvar* carried with it an air of inferiority. The Muttaraiyars the learned Professor calls rightly as Kaḷlars. Ever since the Sangam epoch they had styled themselves as Kalvar-Kōmān, Kaḷvara Kalvan, etc. The term was then not one of reproach but of honour and respect. Be this as it may, there is not a single inscription identifying the Kalvars with the Veḷḷālas, though Kalabhras, are styled as Veḷḷālas. The fact seems to be that the Kaḷvars felt themselves socially inferior and worked their way slowly to the circle of the Veḷḷālas.

It is the contention of Dr. Aiyangar that Acchyutakalappālan who may prove to be Acchyutavikrama ‘could hardly be equated with one described as Kaliyaraśan in Tamil as he was liberal in gifts to the Brahmans’. It is indeed difficult to say whether Kūrṇuvanāyanār and Acchyutakalappālan are identical or different. We find however the term *Kaḷiyaraśan* among the records of the Pāṇdyas who in the bitterness of the loss of their country had much cause to view the conqueror with hatred. And there is nothing inconsistent or contradictory in a conqueror to lavish his gifts to Brahmans who had found favour in his eyes. Moreover Kūrṇuvan is considered a Nāyanār who could not but be charitable and well disposed to the Brahmans.

As regards the resumption of the *Brahmadēya* of Vēlvikuḍi either it must have been added to the king’s estate as the result of political disturbance consequent on the advent of a foreign king or it might have lapsed to the state for want of proper claimants. It could not be the deliberate act on the part of the sovereign nor could it be due to any spite against any particular individual. If it had been done wilfully, it could have been rectified by Kaḍuṅgōn as was the custom with the succeeding monarchs to remedy such misappropriation. The fact seems to be that the *Brahmadēya* lay unclaimed for six generations from Kaḍuṅgon to Parāntaka Nedunjadaiyan. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the donor of gifts referred to in the

Yapperunkala virutthi could not have been that Acchyuta at whose door the charge of appropriation of the *Brahmadēya* is laid.

I have tried to identify again Acchyutakaḷappāḷan with the Acchyuta of Buddhadatta on different grounds. On the strength of a statement in the above *Virutti* I ventured to suggest that he bore the title of Nandi. It is contended that identifying the chief of the Nandi Hills with Acchyuta who reigned at Puhar may prove fatal from a geographical view-point. The Kaḷabhras conquered the Tamil kingdoms and made Puhār their capital. On the strength of the passage in the *Virutti*, their original home must have been the Nandi Hills probably Nandidrug.

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The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER V (1727-31)

BY

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A PERIOD OF STRUGGLE—BAJI RAO'S ULTIMATE TRIUMPH,
NATURE OF THE CONTEST

For four years Nizam-ul-Mulk stirred up strifes through one agency or another, and kept the hands of Baji Rao full with the troubles at home. During these years he could not give effect to his policy, all his time being taken up by his struggle with the Nizam. But when he emerged triumphant out of this contest the fact had been driven home to the heart of the Marathas that the time was ripe for their expansion, and that was to be effected by means nothing short of aggression. Indeed everyone felt that Baji Rao's policy was the only solution of their trouble. His greatest opponent Shripat Rao Pratinidhi had veered round to his viewpoint. The Nizam had conceived such a wholesome respect for the ability of his youthful adversary, that he refrained from creating further troubles. Shahu who had always apprehended rashness in the measures of his young and inexperienced Peshwa, placed implicit confidence in him, and

was confirmed in his conviction that Bajī Rao alone could best control the affairs of the state without prejudice to his dignity and prestige. That was the upshot of this contest between Nizam and Bajī Rao.

PHASES OF THE CONTEST

The contest originated out of the Karnatak expeditions. But when the issues had been decided between Bajī Rao and the Nizam, the civil strifes did not cease. The Nizam was not only fighting for his own ends; he was continuously inciting a number of Maratha chieftains, hostile to Bajī Rao, to secure their own interests against the grasping hand of the Peshwa. He even tried to create division between Shahu and Bajī Rao by advising the former to shake off the hated tutelage of the Chitpavan Brahmans. He had given jagirs to several of the Maratha leaders, and had secured them to his own interest. The result was that after the main part of the contest was over there ensued another, between Shahu and Shambhujī, and yet another between Bajī Rao and Trimbak Rao Dabhade. The Nizam, Sambhujī and Trimbak Rao, had made common cause against Shahu and Bajī Rao, but they failed partly owing to their lack of co-operation and partly owing to the genius of Bajī Rao. This period of four years from 1727-31 therefore falls into three distinct phases. The first was the contest between Bajī Rao and Nizam, the second between Shahu and Shambhujī of Kolhapur and the third, between Bajī Rao and Dabhade.

FIRST PHASE. CONTEST BETWEEN BAJI RAO AND NIZAM

The Nizam was studiously slow and cautious in unfolding his dark designs against Shahu. His first move was to transfer his capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, which would be nearer the Karnatak, and from where he could better control the activities of the Marathas in that region. That was not all. At Haiderabad he would be farther away from Satara, and would thus keep his movements better concealed than if he were at Aurangabad. This he must have effected in the year 1726, and since then Haiderabad has become the capital of the Deccan. But mere transfer of the capital would avail him nothing, for the Marathas were ubiquitous in their activities and Maratha Mokassadars or tax-collectors had been posted throughout the six

subahs of the Deccan. To rid Haiderabad and its adjoining districts of these tax-collectors, whose presence was a perennial humiliation to him, and who kept the Maratha authorities at home constantly informed of his proceedings, he proposed a barter to the Pratinidhi, whose pronounced notions of maintaining peace with the neighbours, made him all the more agreeable to the Nizam. Taking the opportunity of Bajī Rao's absence in the Karnatac expedition he proposed to the Pratinidhi, that since he felt the presence of the Maratha tax-collectors in Haiderabad district humiliating to his dignity, he was ready to make annual payment of an equivalent sum of money to the Marathas, provided they never entered Haiderabad. In lieu of this annual payment, he assigned a substantial jagir in the subah of Berar to the Pratinidhi and an estate near Baramati to Shahu. When Shahu referred the matter to his advisers all except Bajī Rao gave their assent to it. Bajī Rao alone resented the measure; but Shahu would not listen to him, and tried to pacify Bajī Rao with the assurance that Nizam's withdrawal to Haiderabad was advantageous to them. The Peshwa however shifted to Poona in disgust. Thus while the Nizam accomplished his own end, he felt immense satisfaction to have accentuated the division in the court between Bajī Rao and Shripat Rao.

Next he sedulously set to fan the jealousy of Shambhuji against Shahu. He had been sufficiently alarmed at the Karnatac expeditions for he considered the country between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra as his own, and thought that it was rapacious of Shahu to grasp at that part of the country, when his (Shahu's) officers were fast spreading in the north and levying contributions on Malwa and Gujrat. But he alone was helpless. Therefore he took recourse to the Nizam, and resumed his former negotiations with him. Here he found a willing mediator in Chandrasen Jadhav, the sworn enemy of Shahu and the Peshwas. It was indeed with some mortification that Chandrasen had viewed peaceful relations established between Shahu and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Now he waxed jocund at the resumption of the intrigues between Shambhuji and the Nizam against Shahu, and offered his own services for it.¹ As early as February 1726, we have evidence of the beginning of their intrigues, in the form of correspondence between Chandrasen and Shambhuji.² Preliminary negotiations

¹ Sardesai, vol. 1, p. 184.

² *Ibid.*, p. 183.

over, Shambhuji actually left his government in charge of his mother Rajas Bai in September 1726, and kept in the company of the Nizam till 1728. The Nizam promised his help to Shambhuji and instigated him to claim the half of Swarajya from Shahu. While he was openly championing the cause of Shambhuji, he gave out with a show of reason that until the claims of the two princes were definitely settled, it would be unfair on his part to pay the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu and his officers.¹ After this the Nizam showed himself in true colours, and it came as a shock to Shahu.

NIZAM'S HOSTILITIES

In November 1726, after the departure of the Peshwa and *Senapati* for the Karnatak, the Nizam opened hostilities against Shahu. The latter, aware of his attitude soon sent an order on November 19, to Sultanji Nimbalkar, for an immediate convoy of two to three thousand Maratha horse.² But so quick was the blow the Nizam had aimed at him, that Shahu did not get time to be on his guard. Iwaz Khan, a commander of the Nizam, made a sudden attack on Kanhoji Bhonsle and inflicted a severe defeat on him. It was only when Fateh Singh Bhonsle, Naro Ram and Chimnaji Damodar hurried from Gulbarga to the rescue of Kanhoji that Iwaz Khan was forced to retreat. But in the meantime Shambhuji had joined the Nizam, and both had made a move to put spirit into the campaign. Chimnaji Damodar, who was wavering in his loyalty to Shahu, was won over by Shambhuji and he later on, was made his Peshwa. On February 18, 1727, the Nizam and Shambhuji were encamped in Poona, and many are the deeds of grant bestowed on various persons, by Shambhuji from there. So terrified was Shahu at this time that he sent urgent orders to Kanthaji Kadam, Pilaji Gaikwad and Udaji Pawar on March 19, 1727, to come with all their forces and join him at once. Further Kanhoji Bhonsle was called with his troops from Berar. In fact it took some time before Shahu could effectively return blows to the Nizam. But the arrival of Bajirao in April 1727 after the Karnatak expedition, lightened the anxiety of Shahu, and he, now at one with the Peshwa, gave him entire management of the campaign against the Nizam. Now he was fully awakened to the mistake of the Pratinidhi's policy

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 55.

² Sardesai, vol. i, p. 183.

towards the Nizam, and to the significance of Baji Rao's resentment against it. He placed implicit confidence in him and Baji Rao amply justified the confidence. He rose equal to the occasion, and difficulties seemed to vanish at his touch.

Back at the capital, Baji Rao spent two months in discussing measures with Shahu. He himself was in a peculiarly difficult position at this time. All his effectives were engaged in the campaigns in Malwa, and it would be long he thought before they came and joined him. Therefore in consultation with Shahu he decided on a guerilla warfare against the Nizam. The latter in the meantime had gained no inconsiderable advantage over his adversary. He had occupied the whole country up to the banks of the Bhima. Evidently there was no time to be lost in deliberation only, and Baji Rao actually started his campaign in the height of the rains. He left Satara on July 1, at the head of a small army and constantly harassing the Nizam in his rear, reached Poona in August. At Poona he held a review of his troops, and spent a whole month in equipping them. The grand festival of Dashara was celebrated on September 13, 1727, amidst great rejoicings. Hearty embraces mingled with the glitter of gold. Women and children unlocked all their bountiful treasure of love and affection, to their men-folk, for the return of the deep-blue sky, the clear sun-shine, the honeyed blossoming of the Mālatī, Shefālī and Yuthikā of the fair season of autumn, and the strings of fleecy clouds floating above the outlines of the Sahyadris, are peculiarly reminiscent of the sad reflection that their dearest people on earth, father, brother, husband or son, would leave their homes and remain away for eight months, and who knows, whether to return or not.

COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF BAJI RAO AND THE VICTORY OF PALKHED, FEBRUARY 1728

After the Dashara, Baji Rao marched due north from Poona and reached a place called Pantambe, on October 17. Thence he turned east, and entered the district of Aurangabad, which he plundered without mercy. His route from Aurangabad to Jalna, was marked by ceaseless ravages and unending clouds of smoke. Then crossing the Purna and the Painganga he appeared at Mahur where he gave out that he intended to advance on Burhanpur and burn it to ashes. This resolution of Baji Rao frightened Nizam-ul-Mulk, and he started hot

he would not have been molested. But that was not to be. His unremitting intrigues with other Maratha leaders spoiled the peace of Shahu, a man whose one outstanding feature of character was love of peace, and he resolved to put an end to Sambhuji's intrigues by taking to task Shambhuji and co-adjutors. He knew full well, as much as the Peshwa, that Nizam would no more venture to espouse his cause. Therefore it was agreed on all hands that the time was most opportune to reduce Shambhuji. In this even the Pratinidhi was at one with Bajji Rao and Shahu, for he was now feeling uneasy about his past conduct in the Nizam affair. He knew Bajji Rao had out-stripped him in the eyes of Shahu and all Maharastra, and he wanted to retrieve his lost prestige in the ensuing contest with Shambhuji.

Left alone, after the battle of Palkhed, Shambhuji persisted in his policy of opposition to Shahu, and reiterated the demand of half the Swarajya from him, with the help of Udaaji Chouhan and Bhagwant Rao Amatya. The latter was not very loyal to him, and his chief strength lay in the support and abilities of Udaaji. Udaaji Chouhan was the son of Vithoji Chouhan who was a lieutenant of the famous Santaji Ghorpade and played a conspicuous part in his raids in the Karnatak. He died in 1696 and his son succeeded to his possessions and title of Himat Bahadur. Now Udaaji Chouhan was the chief of Athni and rose to power in the sunshine of Ramchandra Amatya's favour. He was a freebooter in his pursuits and a free-lance in his attitude. Soon after the treaty of Shegaon he submitted to Shahu, and remained under him till the beginning of 1729. All the while he was playing a double game. He knew that Shambhuji was in league with Trimbak Rao Dabhade of Gujrat and the Nizam to make good his claim to the sovereignty over half of Maharastra. And as soon as he found that Bajji Rao and his brother Chimnaji Appa had left for Gujrat he showed his hand to Shahu. His first move was on the country round the Waruna, which he plundered. From Shirole, which he made his headquarters, he carried fire and sword into the countryside. One of these days Shahu had gone into those parts for hunting and when he came to know that Udaaji was hard by carrying depredations into the country he called him to an interview promising him safe return. He came and listened to the remonstrances of the king against his conduct but said little in reply. He was let off in safety as promised, but Shahu had soon to experience an adequate return for proving too true

to his words.¹ After a few days four assassins entered Shahu's tent. ' So majestic was the King's bearing and so indifferent was he to ' danger, that the assassins lost heart and throwing down their arms, ' begged for mercy. He asked them whence they had come and they ' admitted that they had been sent by Udaji Chouhan. With admir- ' able irony Shahu gave them each a gold bracelet and bade them ' pick up their arms and take back to their employer a certificate from ' himself, that they were good and faithful servants. But if the king ' could thus jest with death, he was in earnest in his resolve to put a ' stop to these unprovoked inroads.'² No sooner resolved than urgent letters were despatched to Shambhu Singh Jadhav, Dawalji Soma- banshi, Sidhoji Nimbalkar, Saikhoji Angrey, Baji Rao and Pilaji Jadhav. Full preparation was made between October 1729 and February 1730, and when everything was ready the command was given to the Pratinidhi, who showed great enthusiasm for it. There was another man who evinced equally great enthusiasm. That was Shambhu Singh Jadhav, son of Dhanaji and brother of Chandrasen. He was for long with his brother, but falling out with him he had lately left his shelter and came to that of Shahu. He was eager to gain favour of Shahu. Thus when the campaign opened Shahu had the satisfaction of receiving devoted loyalty and warm support from all, and he himself accompanied the army as far as Umbraj. If the Pratinidhi had been given the sole command in the campaign, the Peshwa kept in constant touch with Shahu between August 1729 and August 1730, to take the lead in his council. Indeed with such co-operation on all hands, success was within the grasp of Shahu.

In the meanwhile Shambhuji was also preparing vigorously for a final measure of strength. His Astapradhans and leaders of the army had been called with their quota, and the troops had been massed on the bank of the Waruna. Vyankat Rao Ghorpade and Bhagwant Rao Amatya were among them, and Udaji Chouhan had entrenched at Shirole. The campaign opened with the attack of the Pratinidhi and Shambhu Singh Jadhav on the position of Udaji in January 1730. His fortified camp was subjected to a vigorous siege, and it was not raised until Shambhuji came to his help and relieved the pressure

¹ थो: शा: च: p. 81

² Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. i, p. 195. थो: शा: च: p. 82.

on him. But it was of no avail. The fight continued with unabated vigour and Shambhuji and Udaji fled away to the fort of Panhala leaving everything behind. The flight was the signal for wholesale desertion, and as his army dispersed in all directions the Pratinidhi captured the treasure-chests of Shambhuji, his camp equipage and all his family besides many nobles of note. Among those captured were Tara Bai, Rajas Bai, Sambhuji's wife Jija Bai, Bhagwant Rao Amatya and Vyankat Rao Joshi. They were all taken to Shahu, who with a touch of chivalry ordered the release of all the ladies and their departure under proper escort. Tara Bai alone was unwilling to go back to the hated tutelage of her co-wife Rajas Bai. When told that she could go back if she liked, she observed with a touch of sad resignation 'wherever I go I shall have to live in confinement. Here or there is the same to me. Let me live here,'¹ and she was allowed to live in an old palace in the Satara fort. If she had gone back to Kolhapur, a host of complications would not have arisen in the affairs of the Maratha state after the death of Shahu. The captive nobles were ransomed by Shambhuji, but Shahu proved unrelenting. He next ordered the Pratinidhi to take Vishalgarh and it was occupied by October 1730. Now the pressure was unbearable to Shambhuji, and he prudently chose to throw himself on the mercy of his cousin Shahu.² Kind and forgiving as ever, Shahu pardoned his fallen cousin and promised a share in the kingdom. On his own initiative he had made similar attempts to make up matters between himself and Shivaji in 1708, and between himself and Shambhuji in 1726. Both the times he had failed to make any impression on his obstinate cousins. Now, when Shambhuji was on his knees, he did not go back on his former proposals. The Pratinidhi, Bhagwant Rao and Tara Bai volunteered their services to bring about a permanent understanding between the two cousins, and while the terms of treaty were taking shape on the basis of Shahu's proposals of 1708 and 1726, it was arranged that the two scions of the royal house of Shivaji should meet. Business was combined with pleasure, ceremony and formalities with good will and friendship. A formal invitation was sent to Shambhuji to come and meet Shahu,—he being the elder, at Jakhinvadi. 'In January 1731

¹ थो: शा: च: p. 83

² Sardesai, vol 1, pp. 202-5.

‘ Shahu sent from Satara Shripat Rao the Pratinidhi, Abaji Purandare, and other notable officers and nobles to escort Sambhaji into his dominions. With a large body of horse the Pratinidhi encamped below Panhala. Ascending the fort, he presented Sambhaji with a number of horses and elephants and costly saddlery. A day or two later Sambhaji descended from the fort and returned the visit. These courtesies over, Sambhaji escorted by his own picked troops and the Pratinidhi’s escort marched with him to Wathar in the Satara district. There the prince and the soldiers halted while the Pratinidhi went to Umbraj to inform Shahu of the arrival of the royal visitor. From Umbraj the king moved to Karhad and pitched his camp on the banks of the Krishna river. An open space known as Jakhinvadi plain had been chosen as the meeting place of the two cousins. The ground between the royal camps with the tents and equipage of the nobles of Maharastra, who on this great occasion vied with each other in the splendour of their trappings and the profusion of their jewelry. There were present no less than two hundred thousand soldiers together with horses and baggage trains in countless numbers. On the appointed day Shahu and Sambhaji on the backs of elephants set out from their respective camps, their howdahs blazing with precious stones. When they came in sight of each other their elephants kneeled and their riders left them to mount richly saddled Arab chargers. When the horses met the two princes alighted, Sambhaji put his head on Shahu’s feet in token of submission. Shahu bent down and lifting up his cousin clasped him to his breast. Then according to the gracious custom of the East, Shahu and Sambhaji decked each other with golden favours and garlands of flowers. This formal meeting over, both princes returned to their quarters. On February 17, 1731, Shahu received a visit from Sambhaji. It was arranged that the king and prince should again meet in public in an open space close to Karhad on the banks of the Krishna. The ceremonies observed were similar to those at the first meeting. But after the princes had embraced, Shahu seated Sambhaji beside him on his own elephant, while Shambhu Singh Jadhav waved impartially over the heads of both the royal horsetails (it is cow-tail or *chamar*). Shahu’s elephant bore him and his guest back to the king’s camp. There Shahu lavished on his cousin presents of elephants, horses, clothes of gold, jewels and treasure. From Karhad the princes went

‘to Umbraj, where the king gave a series of magnificent entertain-
 ‘ments. Then he insisted that Sambhaji should pass with him the Holi
 ‘(or vernal) festival at Satara. The Peshwa’s mansion was placed at
 ‘the prince’s disposal. There he remained for two months. While
 ‘the terms of the treaty were being discussed, the Maratha nobles in
 ‘turn invited Sambhaji to a series of splendid banquets. When the
 ‘treaty of Warana, as it is called, had been settled, Shahu showered on
 ‘his guest further gifts, one of which was a sum of two hundred
 ‘thousand rupees in cash and allowed him to depart. Fateh Singh
 ‘Bhonsle was ordered to escort the prince back to Panhala. Shahu
 ‘himself accompanied Shambhaji for eight miles, all of which
 ‘were ablaze with the jewels and silks of the nobles in the train of the
 ‘two monarchs. Even the splendours of the French nobles, when
 ‘Henry met Francis on the field of the cloth of gold, would have paled
 ‘before the magnificence of Shambhaji’s reception by Shahu.’¹ Who
 can say that Maharastra was poor and barren, rough and rugged
 amidst such scenes as these! But amidst the glitter of gold, blaze
 of jewels, rounds of banquets and the effusion of friendship and good-
 will the relative position of the princes was not forgotten, and if Shahu
 erred on the side of generosity the terms of the treaty did not. They
 clearly indicated the subordinate position of Shambhaji and his depend-
 ence on Shahu. It was a treaty dictated by a superior to an inferior,
 concluded on April 13, 1731. Shahu granted the following terms to
 Shambhaji.

WARUNA TREATY—APRIL 13, 1731

(i) The Waruna Mahal, and all the districts known as Dotarfa (claimed by both king Shahu and Shambhaji) along with the forts and military outposts to the south of the confluence (of the Waruna with the Krishna) are given to you.

(ii) We give you the fort of Kopal and you give us Ratnagiri in exchange.

(iii) The military station at Vadgaon should be destroyed.

(iv) We shall destroy your enemies and you ours. We shall both work together for the improvement of the kingdom.

¹ Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. II, pp. 197-9.

(v) From the confluence of the Waruna and Krishna, to that of the Krishna and Tungabhadra, all the forts and military outposts to the south are yours.

(vi) From the Tungabhadra to Rameshwaram half of all the country is ours, and half is yours.

(vii) In the Konkan all the districts from Salshi to Panch Mahal is yours.

(viii) You must not employ our servants and we must not employ yours

(ix) You must surrender to us Miraj, the forts of the district of Bijapur, Athni and Tasgaon.¹

Waruna decided the differences between Satara and Kolhapur existing ever since 1708. Never after this treaty was there any question on any side about the sphere of authority of each. It subordinated Kolhapur to Satara in all but name, and though Shambhuji grumbled over the stringency of the terms all through his life, he could not get them modified. And further be it said to the credit of Shambhuji that he never courted the help of an extraneous power to press his point. The treaty effected a division of the kingdom, but nevertheless it marked a distinct advance in the authority of Shahu within his territories and guarded his position from intermittent exposures to the sidewinds of civil strifes. In the eyes of his own people as much as in those of the aliens he appeared to be the real *Chhatrapati* now. He became the suzerain lord of the country. Lastly it smoothened the course of the Peshwa and gave him the requisite respite at home to successfully carry out his policy abroad.

SHAMBHUJI'S LATER YEARS

As has been indicated above the division of the country did not impair the suzerainty of Shahu. It all the more confirmed the dependence of Shambhuji on him, and he gave ample proofs of this during his life-time. He lived for about thirty years more after the Waruna treaty and survived Shahu for about eleven years. As long as Shahu lived he used to visit Satara often either to pay his respects to him, or to spend a festive occasion with him or to get some little point about the state cleared or done in his favour. In short he gave proof

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 62-63.

of uniform loyalty to Shahu throughout his life. In 1732 he came to Satara and would address Fateh Singh Bhonsle as 'Dada,' a respectable term for brother. When in 1734-1735 he visited Jejun with his wife Jija Bai, he made a detour through Pratapgad and Mahabaleswar and came to Satara. There he enjoyed the hospitality of the king for two months and when he left for Kolhapur Shahu gave him a warm send-off and accompanied him to a respectable distance. He came again in 1741, 1744 and 1746 mostly on some state necessity and each time he drove some bargain in his favour. Eleven years after the death of Shahu, he died on December 20, 1760.¹ In the course of the narrative we shall have occasion to make passing references to his activities.

DUEL BETWEEN THE PESHWA AND THE SENAPATI

When the grandeur of royal meetings at Jakhinvadi, Karhad and Satara dazzled the eyes of the people, when mirth and pleasure flowed on the cloths of gold and orient pearls, when the treaty of Waruna was taking shape, there were happening other incidents in Gujrat, that opened in letters of blood, a new epoch in the history of the Peshwas. Bajji Rao had been pitted against the Commander-in-Chief Trimbak Rao Dabhade, and there was a sanguinary duel between the two for the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of Gujrat. Only twelve days before the conclusion of the Waruna treaty was fought the battle of Dabhai, that ended in the defeat and death of Bajji Rao's hated rival Trimbak Rao Senapati. The victory of Dabhai marked a great advance in the power of Bajji Rao, and practically united two important offices in the same person. Thenceforth the Peshwa became the Senapati also for all practical purposes. But Dabhai did more than this. It achieved the triumph of Bajji Rao's policy and helped the building-up of the Maratha Confederacy as begun by Balaji Viswanath. Important as were the consequences of this duel (between Bajji Rao and Trimbak Rao), it is no less so, to understand how the duel came about. In the tangled skein of the story it should not be lost sight of that the contest was mainly a matter of principle, and that Bajji Rao was fighting not for his own interests, but for a point of policy. On the contrary Trimbak Rao was fighting for his own ends, and that at the instigation of the sworn enemy of the Marathas, Nizam-ul-Mulk. The

¹ Sardesai, vol 1, pp. 214-15.

sanguinary character of the struggle was due to the bitterness of Trimbak Rao, and such was his obstinacy that the words of Shahu failed to produce any effect on him.

Trimbak Rao was the eldest of the three sons of Khanderao Dabhade. The ancestors of the Dabhades were Patils of the village Talegaon, and they had continuously served the Maratha kings generation after generation since the time of Shivaji. During the troubled days of Rajaram, they rendered meritorious services at the risk of their life and consequently on the death of his father and brother, Khanderao was given the title of Sena-Khas-Khel by Rajaram. Khanderao served Tara Bai for some time and when she was defeated by Shahu he took service with the new king. Khanderao was a great friend of Balaji Viswanath and both acted in concert with each other for the welfare of the Maratha state. In 1717 Shahu invested him with the office of *Senapati*, and he accompanied the Peshwa to Delhi. On his return from Delhi, he was posted to the northern frontier of Maharashtra in order to keep an eye on Khandesh, Berar and Gujrat. He was present in the battle of Balapur and later subdued Khandesh, Baglan and the whole country from Basim to Surat for the Marathas. During his old age his son Trimbak Rao and his agent Pilaji Gaikwad discharged his duties and on his death in May 1729 Trimbak Rao succeeded to the office and possessions of his father (January 8, 1730).¹

There was little agreement between old Dabhade and young Bajji Rao in matters of state. The former resented his lead and disapproved his policy. He was one of the party opposed to the Peshwa at the court. This difference was aggravated to the point of bitterness towards the end of his days and after his death. It was brought about by two causes, first, the interference of Bajji Rao in the affairs of Gujrat, which the Dabhades thought was a preserve of their own, second the intrigues of Nizam-ul-Mulk with Dabhade, whom he had incited against Bajji Rao to promote his own interests.

We have already noticed that Kanthaji and Pilaji were residing in Gujrat as the agent of Shahu and the Senapati respectively for the collection of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from that province. In 1726 Sarbuland Khan granted the rights of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over

¹ Sardesai, vol. 1, pp. 217-28.

the country north of the Mahi, to Kanthaji, those over the country south of the Mahi to Pilaji. By a previous arrangement of Shahu the blackmail of Gujrat had been assigned to the Senapati and that of Malwa to the Peshwa. Baji Rao did not approve of this entirely separate allotment of the provinces, for that would make each chieftain independent of the other, and would destroy the root of the Maratha Confederacy, which lay in the interdependence of each member. On that account he was opposed to the manner of the distribution of provinces to some of the leading Maratha chiefs e.g. Raghoji Bhonsle, Fateh Singh Bhonsle, Angrey and Dabhade, and he was involved in frequent broils with them. But not one of them realized his point, and all of them swore hostility against him. In pursuance of this policy Baji Rao approached the *Senapati* with the proposals that he should give the Peshwa half of his revenues of Gujrat, and the Peshwa would give him half of his yield of Malwa. This the *Senapati* rejected with scorn, and Baji Rao, domineering as he was, proceeded to enforce the measure on him. He ordered his agent at Dhar, Udaji Powar to enter Gujrat, and levy contribution on the portion assigned to Pilaji. Udaji acted as he was bid, and then resulted a fight in which the Deputy Faujdar of Dabhai, Abdun-nabi Khan, took the side of Udaji. 'In the subsequent fighting Abdun-nabi Khan was killed, and the town and fort thus fell into Udaji's sole possession.' This only served to unite the two Maratha Sardars—Kanthaji and Pilaji, who considered themselves as established in Gujrat, against Udaji, and they came with a strong army and laid siege to Dabhai. Udaji sought the help of Sarbuland Khan, but failed. The confederates had arranged an agreement with him, and therefore he (Sarbuland Khan) was in no mood to assist Udaji. Perforce he had to give up his position and return to Dhar in Malwa early in 1727. Dhabai and Baroda were occupied by Pilaji.¹

The retreat of Udaji to Malwa almost synchronizes with the return of Baji Rao from his second expedition into the Karnatak and the outbreak of hostilities between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shahu. We have already noticed how Baji Rao spent two months in Satara discussing the plan of his campaign and left for Poona in July. The campaign was actually set on foot in September 1727. Now was the advantage for the *Senapati*, who had been sufficiently offended by the Peshwa

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1, Part I, p. 390.

for his interferences in Gujrat through Udaji Pawar. Udaji had been chased out, and Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shambhuji were taking good account of Baji Rao. This was the time selected by Trimbak Rao,¹ to feed fat his ancient grudge, and he invaded Malwa to create a diversion in favour of Nizam-ul-Mulk. But Baji Rao was not thus to be outwitted. He had written to Sarbuland Khan, for the cession of Chauth and had sent his able brother Chimnaji, at the head of an army to invade Gujrat at the end of the rainy season of 1727. But Sarbuland Khan demanded extravagant conditions in return for the Chauth and the negotiations fell through. Then Chimnaji began to plunder Duraha, an unwallled town, realized a ransom and retired to Malwa by way of Godhara and Dohad, which he occupied along with the fort of Champaner. But Sarbuland Khan was not left at peace. Soon appeared Baji Rao like a whirlwind in Gujrat after throwing Nizam-ul-Mulk off the scent in January 1728. He told Sarbuland that he had invaded his country in consultation with the Nizam. He spent a month rapidly moving from place to place and plundering the people of the town and country, and appeared once again on the banks of the Godavari to bring the Nizam to his knees at Palkhed. When the treaty of Mungi Shegaon was taking shape, Baji Rao reiterated his demand of Chauth to Sarbuland Khan. The Peshwa promised to keep peace in return. But the Governor at first treated this with scant attention, for he had in the meanwhile chased Kanthaji and Pilaji out of his province, and was expecting the arrival of the Emperor at the head of a strong army from Delhi. Baji Rao however was not to be trifled with, and when he learnt that the Emperor was in no way disposed to come to the help of the Subahdar in person he sent his brother Chimnaji at the head a strong army in 1729. Chimnaji displayed great vigour in the campaign, and carrying fire and sword through the beautiful countryside and levying contribution on the flourishing marts of Gujrat, he halted at the town of Dholka, and sent in demands of Chauth to Sarbuland Khan.² The latter was now in no position to reject the proposal. Rumours of his transfer had reached him from Delhi and he willingly bought the Marathas off on their own terms. Like Sayid Husain Ali on a previous occasion he might have thought that an amicable settlement with the Marathas might

¹ Sardesai, vol 1, p 225.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 1, p. 393.

bring fresh accession of strength to him, that might stand him in good stead in his resistance to the governor-designate Abhai Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur. With these motives he ceded the 'Sardesh-mukhi of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs with the 'exception of the fort of Surat, and five per cent on the revenues of 'the city of Ahemadabad.' In return for the Sardeshmukhi the Peshwa promised to protect the country from all the enemies of peace and order, and for the Chauth agreed to maintain a force of 2,500 horse at the disposal of the Viceroy.² He further agreed to prevent other Maratha leaders from leaguings with the disaffected zamindars and Koli chiefs of the country and thus disturb public peace. 'After these 'deeds were obtained the Mokassa and the collection of a part of the 'Surdeshmookhee, were assigned to Dhabaray, but jealousy of Baji 'Rao's interference in the affairs of the province, occasioned an 'implacable enmity on the part of that chief.'³ By this time Khanderao was dead, and Trimbak Rao, the avowed enemy of Baji Rao, had succeeded to his father's office and possessions. Now the breach between the two had become wider than ever.

NIZAM'S INTRIGUES

The breach between Trimbak Rao and Baji Rao gave an impetus to the intriguing nature of the Nizam. He knew that Trimbak Rao alone would not dare defy Baji Rao, but with the slightest support from him he would jump on a war.⁴ Further the time was most favourable to fan a civil war between the Peshwa and the *Senāpati*, when Shahu and Shambhuji were pitted against each other (at this time), and a large part of the army was locked up in the south. Burning for revenge, Trimbak Rao had secured the support of Kanthaji, who was now working against Baji Rao. Thus the Nizam found Trimbak Rao, his agent Pilaji Gaikwad and his ally Kanthaji, ready instruments to his hand and he set to work mischief to the national cause of the Marathas as championed by Baji Rao. Ever since Palkhed he had been covertly countenancing all the intrigues against the domination of the Peshwa. His hand was working in the aggressive designs of Udaji Chouhan, that ultimately resulted in the

¹ Grant Duff, vol. 1, p. 504.

³ Grant Duff, vol. 1, p. 505.

² Rajwade, vol. 11, p. 59

⁴ Rajwade, vol. 11, p. 61.

war between Shahu and Shambhuji. Simultaneously he created another trouble for Baji Rao in the north. In November 1730 at his instigations Dabhade entered Malwa with his confederates Pilaji and Kanthaji, and looted it. Shahu, apprized of this, ordered them to desist from further depredations but it was of no avail. Next Dabhade made an alliance with Udaji Pawar, who had quarrelled with Baji Rao as far back as November 1729¹ It was further arranged they should unite with the Nizam and all of them proceed to the destruction of Baji Rao

Battle of Dabhade.—When the dark designs were weaving round Baji Rao, his attention was distracted by the troubles created by Shambhuji. He arranged the expedition against Shambhuji and had to remain by the side of Shahu till August 1730. All the while he was keeping a close watch on the movements of the Nizam. On July 8, 1730, arrived his brother Chimnaji after concluding the agreement with Saibuland Khan about the Chauth of Gujrat Throughout the rainy season (July–September) he was preparing not only for the campaign against Shahu but against the Nizam and Dabhade. When he found that the expedition against Shambhuji had been fully equipped, he left for Poona and was detained there till the Dashera on account of certain family affairs. Rakhma Bai, the wife of Chimnaji, after giving birth to the boy later known as Sadashivrao, on August 2, died of puerperal fever before the month was past. The bereavement unnerved Chimnaji, and the brothers had to pass a month in sorrow, before they could set out from Poona.² At last Dashera festival came off on October 10 and the Peshwa made a move out of the city that very day As he embarked on the expedition and proceeded by gradual stages towards Gujrat, staggering news reached him from all sides, that Kanthaji, Pilaji, Udaji and Dabhade had formed a league against him, that Chimnaji Damodar had joined them and that Nizam-ul-Mulk was also coming to their aid in combination with Mohamed Khan Bagash of Malwa.³ But undaunted by these heavy tidings, Baji Rao took the road towards Khandesh by way of Nasik and reached Surat by the beginning of December 1730. From Surat he passed on to Bharoch and thence towards Baroda with

¹ थो: शा: च: pp. 66-67. Sardesai, vol. 1, p. 225

² Rajwade, vol. 11, pp 60-61

³ Irvine, vol. 11, p. 250.

the intention of driving out Pilaji from there. At this juncture Abhay Singh, who had in October 1730 assumed charge of the government of Gujrat and since then had been exerting to rid his province of the depredations of Pilaji, sent an invitation to Bajī Rao, for an interview at Ahemedabad.¹ Divining the motives of the Maharaja, he gladly accepted the invitation and met him at Ahmadabad in February 1731. In a grand audience held in the Shahī Bagh, on the banks of the Sabar-mati, it was decided that the engagement of Sarbuland Khan would be respected by Abhay Singh, and consequently the Peshwa must fulfil his part of that engagement. Accordingly Bajī Rao started with a contingent of the Maharaja towards Baroda, the seat of Pilaji's power, to besiege and reduce it. As he approached Sawalī by March 25, 1731, he got definite information about the movements of the armies of Dabhade and the Nizam. He was told that Dabhade with his confederates Pilaji and Kanthaji and Udaji Pawar was fast proceeding to effect a junction with the Nizam. The danger of such a junction for Bajī Rao was too obvious to be speculated upon, and on the spur of the moment he decided to fall on Dabhade and destroy him before he got the help of the Nizam. With a lightning march he turned east, and arrested the further progress of the *Senapati* at Dabhai. With an army of fifteen to sixteen thousand horse, he fought Dabhade's which 'is said to have been upwards of fifty thousand² on April 1, 1731, on the plains of Bhilapur near Dabhai between Baroda and that town, defeated and killed him in the battle.³ The Dabhade faction was thus wiped in blood, but it is said Bajī Rao was forced to take this extreme measure on account of the obduracy of Dabhade. He never showed himself amenable to reason. Bajī Rao tried an amicable settlement and 'commenced negotiating, from the day of his quitting Poona, and 'continued it until the hour of attack'! His death left complete 'victory to Bajī Rao with all but nominal control of the Maratha 'sovereignty.'⁴

¹ *Surat Factory Diary*, vol 614, Letter No. 39, dated September 21, 1730. (Unpublished).

² *Surat Factory Diary*, vol 614, Letter No 67, dated April 7, 1731. (Unpublished).

³ थो: शा: च: p. 68 Rajwade, vol. 11, p. 68

⁴ Grant Duff, vol. 1, p. 508.

CONSEQUENCES OF DABHAI

After the battle Bajī Rao sent an account of it to Shahu and when he learnt of the death of Dabhade he was smitten with remorse. He felt it was on his account that a Brahman had been killed, and God-fearing as he was he proceeded to make amends for his imaginary sin. He sent for Bajī Rao and Chimnaji Appa and 'for Trimbak Rao's brothers Yashwant Rao and Sawai Baburao, and for Khanderao Dabhade's widow Uma Bai, and did all that he could to effect a reconciliation. He made both Bajī Rao and Chimnaji Appa fall at Uma Bai's feet and ask her forgiveness. Thereafter he conferred on Yashwant Rao the title of Senapati and on Sawai Baburao that of Senakhas Khel. He then bade Uma Bai and her sons return to Tulegaon Dabhade. He himself went to the temple of Khandoba in Jejuri. After prostrating himself in the presence of the gods, he purified himself from the guilt of Trimbak Rao's death. He next set himself to the practical side of the question. He defined the boundaries of Malwa and Gujrat and passed orders that half the revenues of each province should be paid direct to the royal treasury by the Peshwa. The other half of the Gujrat revenues should be allotted to the Dabhades for the upkeep of the army of occupation. The other half of the Malwa revenues should similarly be allotted to Bajī Rao for his military expenses. But in spite of the royal generosity, the house of Dabhades never recovered from the ruinous defeat of Dabhai.¹ Yaswant Rao who succeeded to the office of Commander-in-Chief was a worthless idler and fell into evil ways and a victim to opium and drink. The power ultimately passed from their hands into those of the descendants of Pilaji Gaikwad. But that was not all. Dabhai was a victory without parallel in the history of the Peshwas. It marks a new phase in their rise, it left Bajī Rao 'with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty.' Indeed Dabhai was a double triumph for Bajī Rao—it was a triumph for his policy; it was a triumph for his ascendancy. It has been indicated above that with Bajī Rao the struggle was a matter of principle, of policy—not of self-interest. He was fighting for maintaining an equilibrium in the Maratha Confederacy by enforcing interdependence of its various

¹ Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. 11, p. 194.

members in matters of money and jagirs. For this he had to bear in his life-time a great deal of unmerited odium. This was the first instance, and here he won a complete victory, for his arrangement was ultimately adopted. Within the four years from April 1727 to April 1731, he had encountered a series of difficulties, and with admirable fortitude and consummate ability he had combated them all, conquered them all. If Palkhed humiliated Nizam-ul-Mulk, the enemy of the Maratha state, if Waruna definitely subjected Shambhuji to Shahu, Dabhai crowned these by sweeping away all possibilities of mischief on the part of both Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shambhuji. After the destruction of Dabhade, Shambhuji, Nizam and other miscreants fully awoke to the transcendent abilities of Bajī Rao and dared not defy him. By sheer force of the unrelenting law of survival of the fittest, Bajī Rao towered supreme over all. And in fact Dabhai was no mean achievement. When two armies were closing round him, with all the determination of malice and vindictiveness, it required great coolness and caution to face them against overwhelming odds. Bajī Rao had only 15,000 men when he encountered Dabhade at the head of 50,000. The issues of the battle were obstinately contested till the last moment, and during the whole course of it, Bajī Rao displayed no mean generalship. Though Shahu made Bajī Rao fall at the feet of Uma Bai, his admiration for his young Peshwa now rose higher than ever, and henceforth his confidence in him was unshakable. Bajī Rao eclipsed all his rivals in the court in point of favour in his master's eyes. Indeed none ventured to dispute his authority now, neither his master, nor the nobles. Bajī Rao alone held the helm of the Maratha state, and steered it through many a shoal and rock to the ultimate goal, defined in his policy—Maratha empire. Nine more years of unflagging zeal and indefatigable activities, brought the Marathas actually to strike at the trunk which he had exhorted them to do in 1722. So it is that Dabhai forms a landmark in the history of the Peshwas.

BAJĪ RAO AND NIZAM AGAIN

After Dabhai came the turn of Nizam-ul-Mulk, that arch-enemy of the Maratha state, Bajī Rao was burning in resentment against him, for it was through his agency that the troubles of the last four years had arisen. Now with grim determination he started to destroy his last fangs. He prepared a large army to meet him in the open field. But if

THE RISE OF THE PESHWAS

Baji Rao was so resolute to wreak his vengeance, the Nizam was not less so to effect a conciliation on terms, which would be most suitable to Baji Rao. The destruction of Dabhade knocked the bottom out of the Nizam's intrigues and there was an end to the proposed alliance of the Nizam and Bangash. Then the Nizam thought that to buy off Baji Rao on his own terms would be most advisable under the circumstances and he knew that nothing was more after the heart of Baji Rao than to allow him a free scope in the north. Since the loss of Malwa and Gujrat he was in no mood to extend his power to the north of the Narmada. The Karnatak was his proper field he thought, and he knew that in his infatuation for the north Baji Rao would never care for the Karnatak. Hence he seized the earliest opportunity after Dabhade of sending envoys to Baji Rao, with offers of peace. He promised to give him free passage through his dominions into Malwa and urged him to conquer the rich imperial dominions rather than waste his energies in the barren soil of the Deccan. He should fight the Emperor rather than a viceroy like himself. This proposal was eminently pleasing to the Peshwa. 'In August 1731 Baji Rao and Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand—the Nizam should be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwa in the north.'¹ Now Baji Rao was left to pursue his policy of Maratha expansion unhampered by the rivalry of the Nizam. And the Nizam eager to keep himself behind the barrier of the Marathas, so that he might be free from the jealousies and intrigues of Delhi, had his purpose served.² But it bore bitter fruits for the empire. The Marathas were put upon the track to Delhi through the selfish ambition of the Nizam, and as we shall see in the next chapter, soon mastered the north through the connivance of the Rajputs.

¹ Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. II, p. 212

² Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. I, p. 79.

The Maṇimēkalai Account of the Sāṃkhya

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FOR some time past scholars have been endeavouring to fix the date of the Tamil Classic, *Maṇimēkalai*, and the period of what is called the Sangam Age, in the light of the account given of the classical Indian systems of philosophy, in that work. The treatment of Indian Logic is particularly full and has constituted the battle-ground of rival theorists who claim either that that account marks a transition to Dignāga¹ or that it has utilized the teaching of Dignāga². The question has not yet been settled. Since it seemed to the present writer that the treatment of the other systems of philosophy could not but be of interest and profit, in this connection, he attempted a study of these, and was agreeably surprised to find that the account of the Sāṃkhya was both novel and significant. The doctrine there expounded has very little affinity with the classical Sāṃkhya except in respect of the number of the tattvas (twenty-five including Puruṣa). Since the account is comparatively short, it is set out here in English, *in extenso*.

The expositor of the Sāṃkhya doctrine spoke dispassionately thus: That which is difficult to know, is of the nature of three constituents,³ is unattainable by the mind (*manam*), is pervasive and common to all, and is the substrate of the evolution of all things, that is Mūla-prakṛti. From this Citta (a synonym for Prakṛti) arises ether (*ākāśa*), from that arises air (*vāyu*); from that arises fire (*agni*); from that arises water (*ap̥pu*), from that arises the earth (*man*), from the

¹ Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Maṇimēkhalai*, pp. xxii-xxv.

² Prof. Jacob in the Supplement to his article in the Hultzsch Jubilee Number of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, tr. in *Maṇimēkhalai*, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

³ It is worth noting that the text uses the words 'mukkuṇamāy *being* (or becoming) the three guṇas,' and not '*possessing* the three guṇas'. The guṇas were thus constituents, not qualities.

aggregate of these arises the mind (*manam*);¹ from the mind is declared (to evolve) the evolute of individuation (*āṅgāram*); from ether the evolutes called the ear and sound, from air the evolutes called the skin and touch, from fire the evolutes called the eye and light, from water (of the elements still left) the evolutes called the mouth (*vāy*) and taste, and from the earth the evolutes of the nose and smell are declared (to evolve)², out of these, as evolutes of the skin³ arise the organ of speech, the hands, the feet, and the organs of excretion and generation. As modifications of the elements here mentioned arise hills, forests, etc., and constitute the world. These return in the same manner as they appeared and are absorbed. Till the universal deluge these will expand continuously throughout space.⁴ Puruṣa is easy to know, devoid of the three constituents, incapable of being cognized by the senses (*pori*), he is not the substrate for the evolution of anything, (but) he is the intelligence whereby all those (evolved) things are known; he is the one, all-pervasive, eternal intelligence. There are twenty-five entities

¹ This provides an interesting analogue to the Vedānta view that mind evolves from the five tanmātras see *Advaita Vedānta Paribhāṣā*.

² The text would seem to support only a parallel evolution of the indriya and what it senses, not a prior evolution of one or the other. Kanakasabhai's translation (in *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*) reads 'from ether sound is produced through the ear' and so on. There is little warrant for this in the text 'ākāyattir cevīyoli vikāramuṁ', etc. Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's translation — 'from ākāśa springs sound heard by the ear' — is non-committal.

³ The text reads 'ivarrir rokku vikāramāy', etc. The second word 'tokku' changed by sandhi to 'rokku' is used in the sense of skin (*tvak*) a few lines earlier. There is no reason to hold that it is used in a different sense here. Kanakasabhai translates thus 'From the union of these appear the tongue etc.' This is not a very helpful way of understanding the passage. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who translates 'These find expression by means of the physical organs' seems not to recognize the difficulty. Is there any view which takes the organs of action to be derived from one of the organs of cognition—the skin? An interesting view which bears on the question, though not directly, may be noted here. In commenting on verse 59 of Bhoja-deva's *Tattvaparakāśikā* (a Śaiva Āgamic work), Aghoṣa Śiva raises the objection that the organs of action would be infinite in number, if for every action, e.g., knitting the eye-brows, a separate organ were needed. The reply he gives is that the organs of action are not localized but pervade the whole body like the skin, and that knitting the eye-brows is a function of the indriya known as the hands. A certain fundamental resemblance is here recognized between the skin and the karmendriyas, whether any greater degree of identity is pre-supposed is not known.

⁴ The sentence in the text is far from clear. I have adopted Kanakasabhai's translation.

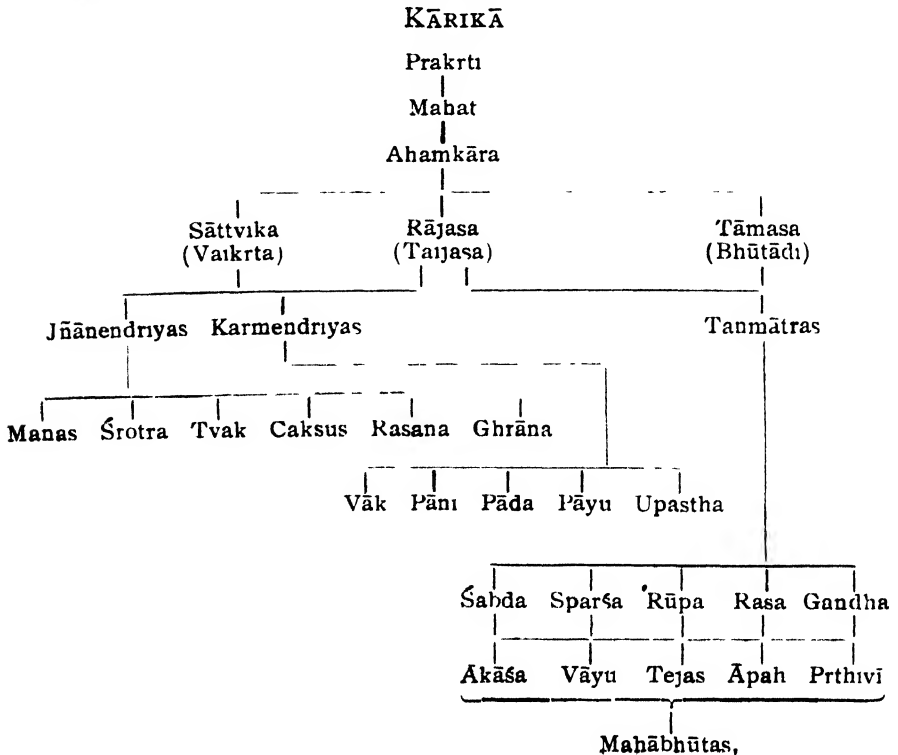
cognizable by the senses (pulam); earth, water, fire, air and ether; the body, the mouth, the eye, the nose and the ear; taste, sight, touch, sound and smell, the organ of speech, the feet, the hands, the organ of excretion and the organ of generation; mind, intellect, individuation and citta, and the one soul (*ānma*) called life (*uyr*)'

The scheme of categories may be clearer from the accompanying table. It will be noticed that there is considerable divergence

Mūla-Prakṛti (Citta)

			Mahat			
Organ of speech—	Sound	}	—	Ākāśa	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div style="text-align: left;"> Manas Ahankāra </div> </div>	
	Ear					
Hands	Touch	}	—	Vāyu		
	← Skin					
Feet	Colour	}	—	Agni		
	Eyes					
Organ of } Excretion }	Taste	}	—	Āpah		
	Tongue					
Organ of } Generation }	Smell	}	—	Prthivi		
	Nose					

II. TABLE OF EVOLUTES OF PRAKṚTI AS SET OUT IN THE SĀMKNHYA



from the Sāmkhya as expounded by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa and taught (presumably in a continuous line of tradition) up to the time of Viṣṇāṇa Bhikṣu, if not up to the present day. A prominent feature is the omission of all reference to the subtle elements (tanmātras), out of which the gross elements evolve, according to the classical Sāmkhya. Another prominent feature is the notion of the oneness of the Purusa. Whether we construe the unity strictly or as but referring to the class of intelligent beings, we have something very different from, if not opposed to, the plurality emphasized in the *Sāmkhya Kārikā*.¹ The order of evolution is itself worthy of note. Manas and ahamkāra figure more as by-products than as evolutes of the third and fourth degree as they do in the *Kārikā*. The evolution of the elements is that set out in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* II, 1. To a great extent, the account seems to show affinities with the Sāmkhya of the *Mahābhārata*.² The omission of the tanmātras is also reminiscent of the

¹ See *Sāmkhya Kārikā*, 18.

² Cf. Keith *The Sāmkhya System*. The absence of the five elements, Tanmātras, from the epic results in a different position in the series of evolution for the gross elements. Occasionally these are derived direct from the absolute being, following the doctrine of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (II, 1), or from mind, but their normal source is the principle of individuation. From the gross elements spring their Viśeṣas, distinctions, the term given to the specific qualities which they possess. In the classical Sāmkhya, the introduction of the Tanmātras reduces the gross elements to an inferior position, the five elements are without distinction, Avīśeṣa, probably because each element consists of its own nature alone, while the gross elements now themselves bear the term Viśeṣas apparently because they each contain portions of the others. This theory of the mixing of the elements is found in the Epic, but there is also found the very different theory by which the elements, as in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, arise each from the less complex, the lowest, the ether, with one quality and the highest, the earth with five' (p. 37). On the unity of Purusa in the Epic Sāmkhya, see Dahlmann, *Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie*, esp. p. 5. 'Das klassische Sāmkhya nimmt eine Vielheit geistiger Substanzen an, das epische Sāmkhya leugnet diese Vielheit und hält an der unbedingten Einzigkeit des absoluten Geistes fest,' also *Mahābhārata*, XII, 311 (where Vasistha says, 'Prakṛti is one at the time of the deluge and manifold in creation. The controlling purusa is also one at the time of the deluge and manifold in creation'). On the indriyas as evolutes of the mahābhūtas, see *Mahābhārata* XII, 253, and 258 (where Vyāsa says, for instance, 'The organ of hearing is the evolute of ākāśa. The sage who knows what the śāstras lay down knows sound to be characteristic of that ākāśa'), also ch. 315 (where Yājñavalkya says, 'Avyakta, mahat, ahamkāra and the five gross elements are the prakṛtis. The five organs of cognition, the five sense-impressions, and the five organs of action are specifications of the five gross elements'). This doctrine provides one

Sāṃkhya as expounded by Caraka.¹ It would be interesting to know if there is any analogue to the view of the evolution of the organs of action from the skin (or the body as it is termed at a later stage of the account).

Judging from the remarkably precise account given of Indian Logic and the equally correct though, perhaps, jejune account of Buddhism, there is little reason to think that the account of the Sāṃkhya, as given in the *Manimēkhalai* is anything but a faithful version of the doctrine as current at the time of the author, and in his part of the country. It is difficult to believe that such a version would have been current after the date of the *Kārika*, and one may assert with a good measure of reason that there is no likelihood of its having been current two to three centuries after the date assigned to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. One seems compelled, therefore, to conclude that the composition of the *Manimēkhalai* could not have been later than the third or at the most the fourth century A.D.²

A consideration of the pramānas enumerated in Chapter XXVII of the work gives a suggestion which may in some measure reinforce the above conclusion. Inference, which is recognised as a pramāna, is said to be three-fold and the three forms—pūrvavat, śesavat and sāmānyato drṣṭa—are explained much in the same way as by Vātsyāyana in the first portion of his commentary on *Nyāya Sūtra* I, 1, 5. Śeṣavat, for instance, is said to be inference from effect to cause, not inference by elimination as suggested by Vātsyāyana in the latter half of his commentary, sāmānyato drṣṭa applies where perception of co-existence between middle and major is absent, not only where it is impossible (being atindriya). The latter view of sāmānyato drṣṭa inference suggested by Vātsyāyana himself seems to be shared by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, as seen from *Kārika* 6. It seems likely,

more affinity with Vedānta, See *Advaita-Vedānta-Paribhāṣā*, Viśaya Pariccheda, here, of course, the evolution is from the tanmātras, not from the gross elements which are themselves derived from the tanmātras. The probability of the doctrine being closer to the Upanisads than to the classical Sāṃkhya seems thus to be very great. The references to *Mahābhārata* are to the Madhva Vilas Book Depôt Edition.

¹ See Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 1, pp. 213-22

² For the date of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, which is generally fixed as the third century A.D. or earlier, see Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. 11, pp. 254-55.

THE MANIMĒKALAI ACCOUNT OF THE SĀMKHYA

therefore, that the author of the *Manimēkalai* came before Vātsyāyana, who is believed not to have come later than 400 A.D.¹ The suggestion in itself is very weak, however, since a particular interpretation might have been chosen in preference to others which were also known. But if taken along with other suggestions which a more detailed study of the chapters XXVII-XXX of the work are likely to yield, the cumulative result cannot but be positively helpful in a more precise determination of the period to which the work belongs

¹ For the date of Vātsyāyana, see Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 38

Relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal in the middle of the Eighteenth Century (1740-1765).

BY

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LIVING side by side for centuries together, the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities had borrowed each other's ideas and customs.¹ Whenever two types of civilization come into contact with each other, it is quite natural that one must exercise its influence on the other. Hinduism had stood patiently before the onrush of the militant forces of Islam without losing its assimilative power in the least, and as soon as the storm had subsided, it embraced within its fold the followers of Islam and cast its influence over them. Similarly the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feeling of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thought, drew the two communities closer and closer. It is worthy of notice that we find illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and thought in the age of the great orthodox emperor Aurangzeb himself. Alwal, a Mahometan poet, translated the Hindi poem *Padmāvatī* into Bengali and wrote several poems on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the seventeenth century.² In Kṣemānanda's *Manasāmangala*, written towards

¹ *Vide* the article by Mr Mazhal-ul-Haque in the *Statesman* November, 17, 1910, referred to by Dr. D. C. Sen in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp 794-795

² Dr. D. C. Sen's *History of Benagali Language and Literature*, p. 624. 'The manuscripts of *Padmāvatī* hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of *Arācān* in the back-woods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muhammadan folk of those localities. No Hindu has ever yet cared to read them. This goes to prove how far the taste of the Muhammadans was imbued with Hindu culture. This book, that, we should have thought, could be interesting only to Hindu readers, on account of its lengthy disquisitions on

the latter part of the seventeenth century, there is a passage which tells us that in the steel-chamber prepared for Laksmindra, a copy of the Korān was kept along with other sacred charms to remove Manasā-Devī's wrath.¹

By the middle of the eighteenth century, we find that this process of mutual assimilation had reached its culminating point. Nawab Shāhāmat Jung (Nowagis Mahommad) with Saulat Jung, who came from Purneah at that time, enjoyed the Holi festival for seven days, in the gardens of Motīhil.² On that occasion about 200 reservoirs had been filled with coloured water and heaps of Ābir (red-powder) and saffron had been collected; and more than five hundred charming girls³ dressed in costly robes and jewels used to appear in groups every morning and evening, mustering from every part of the gardens. After the treaty of Alynagur (9th February, 1757), Nawab Serajah Dowlah proceeded to Murshidabad and enjoyed the Holi festival in his place at Mansurganj.⁴ Once, when at Azimabad, Nawab Mir Jafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged himself in enjoying the Holi festival⁵. It is said that on his deathbed, Mir Jafar drunk a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol

theology and Sanskrit rhetoric, has been strangely preserved, ever since Aurangzeb's time, by Moslems for whom it could apparently have no attraction, nay, to whom it might even seem positively repellant. From the time of Māgnana Thākūr, the Muhammadan minister till the time of Shaik Hāmidullā of Chittagong who published it in 1893—covering a period of nearly 250 years—this book was copied, read, and admired by the Muhammadans of Chittagong exclusively'—*Ibid*, p. 626

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 793 and 288

² *Muzaffarnamah*, pp. 86a-86b. The author of *Muzaffarnamah* was himself present on that occasion

³ These were perhaps such professional dancing girls, who could not be classed with the ordinary gentlewomen of the society (Cf. Edmund Ive's and Craufurd's references to dancing girls in Hindu society)

⁴ *Muzaffarnamah*—p. 123b.

⁵ (a) *Ibid*, p. 137 a. It is important to note that not only Mir Jafar, but also all the gentry of the city took part in the festival. On this occasion, Mir Jafar amused himself in the company of a woman named Ferzānā, who might be regarded as an example of that type of professional girls 500 of whom had been engaged by Snahamat Jung.

(b) 'Not content with that, he (Mir Jafar) ordered a sandy spot in the river, through which ran a small stream to be surrounded by cloth-walls and there he spent some days, in fulfilling the rites of that Gentoo festival, the last of which consists in throwing handfuls of dust and coloured earth at each other and syringing coloured water on one another's clothes.' (*Sair-ul-Mutakherin*—Cambray's old edn., vol. ii, p. 266).

of Kiriṭeśvari¹. The Muhammadans offered 'pujā' at Hindu temples, as the Hindus offered 'sinni' at Muhammadan mosques².

This fusion of ideas and customs had long ago led to the evolution of a common god, Satyapīr, worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike³. In Bhāratachandra's poem on Satyapīr we find that a Hindu merchant named Sadānanda got a daughter by favour of the god Satyapīr, to whom he had vowed some offerings; but very soon the merchant forgot to make his offerings, and incurred the wrath of the god Satyapīr, as a result of which his son-in-law met with a premature death⁴. It is related in the contemporary work *Samaser Ghājir Puñthi*, that on one night a Hindu goddess appeared thrice before the Ghāji in his dream, and in obedience to her behest the Ghāji worshipped her the next morning, with the help of the Brāhmins, and according to due rites⁵. A Bengali document⁶ (dated A.D.

¹ 'Several persons of credit have affirmed that some moments before his demise, he had, on Nandecomer's persuasion, ordered to be brought to him some water that had been poured in libation over the idol at Kyirut-conāh (a famous temple of the Gentoos in the neighbourhood of Murshidabad) and that some drops of it were poured down to the dying man's throat' (*Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Cambridge's old edn, vol. 11, p. 558). It is worthy of note that a Hindu could, without any hesitation, offer a Moslem the water of libation poured on a Hindu idol, and that it was drunk in faith.

² Dr D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 793. 'In Chittagong this fusion of ideas and interchange of customs and usages seems to have reached its highest point. In a Bengali poem called the *Behulā-Sundār*, written by Hāmidullā of Chittagong, we read that the Brahmins, who had assembled to find out an auspicious day for the hero's journey abroad, consulted the Korān for the purpose. The hero, who was the son of an orthodox Hindu merchant, obeyed the injunctions 'as if they were laid down in the Vedas' and started on his voyage, praying to 'Allāh' for his safety. Āptābuddin, another Mahomedan poet of Chittagong, who wrote a poem called *Jāmi Dīlārām*, in A.D. 1750 writes that his hero, who was a Mahomedan, went to the nether worlds to find a boon from the Saptarsies or the seven sages of the Hindus' *Ibid*, p. 796.

³ Compare the numerous poems on Satyapīr written in old Bengali, *Vide History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 396-397.

⁴ *Satyapīrer kathā* by Bhāratachandra, p. 1—Bhāratachandra's *Granthāvalī* (New Victoria Press Publication).

⁵ 'Summon the Brāhmins, if you do not worship yourself, otherwise, the victory in the battle is not for you. In this way she appeared thrice in his dreams and he took fright on hearing of the battle. Leaving his bed in the morning, the Ghāji pondered over the matter for some time, and (at last) duly worshipped the goddess by summoning the Brāhmins' (*Samaser Ghājir Puñthi*—*Vide* Dr. D. C. Sen *Typical Selections*, part 11, p. 1851).

⁶ S. R. Mitra's *Types of Early Bengali Prose*, pp. 136-38, *Typical Selections*, part 11, *Sāhitya Pariṣada Patrikā*, 1308 B.S., pp. 8-10.

1732) which marks the victory of the Sahajiyā cult over the orthodox Vaisnava cult, has got a few Muhammadan signatories as its witnesses, and it is really worthy of notice that even in matters of social and religious changes the opinions and testimony of the Muhammadans were sought and obtained by their Hindu brethren. Many of the Muhammadans believed in the principles of astrology and were as particular in observing them as the Hindus¹. 'Miri Casim understood a little astrology and believed in its maxims and predictions; he procured the child's horoscope to be accurately drawn by able astrologers.'² When we compare the large number of works composed by Moslem writers of the age, in praise of the Hindu gods and goddesses and on Hindu music, we cannot but conclude that the Vaisnava and orthodox Hindu notions and thought had deeply influenced the inner strata of Muhammadan society in Bengal.³ Thus in the field of ordinary life, the two communities were living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment.

But, in spite of all this, the relations between the prominent members of the two communities, living in the court circles, were sometimes very bitter, though it did not affect so much the internal life of the country.⁴ This was due principally to two important changes which had greatly influenced the political outlook of Bengal, one was the gradual weakening of the imperial authority and the consequent rise of

¹ 'So that between the Mahometan and Gentoo astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils, no new enterprise is begun without his being first consulted and his veto is as effectual as that of a Tribune in the Roman Senate' (Scafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indistan*, p. 17)

² *Seir-ul Mutakherin*, vol. II, p. 387

³ We are indebted to Sāhitya Sāgar Ābdul Karīm Sāhitya-Vishārada for the discovery of some of these MSS. and to Dr. D. C. Sen for the notes and scrutinies on them. Vide *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 796-804 and 'Prāchin Puthir Vivarana' by Ābdul Karīm.

⁴ In his work called *Pada Kalpataru*, composed in the 18th century, Vaisnavadasa has quoted the 'padas' (songs in praise of Vaisnava gods) of 11 Moslem writers. Dr. D. C. Sen's article on 'Vangabhāsār Upar Musalmānerprabhāva'.—Vide the *Bengali Magazine* 'Vicitrā', Māgh 1335, B. S.

⁵ 'Yet an Englishman cannot but wonder to see how little the subjects in general are affected by any revolution in the Government, it is not felt beyond the small circle of the court. To the rest it is a matter of the utmost indifference, whether their tyrant is a Persian or a Tartar, for they feel all the curses of power, without any of the benefits but that of being exempt from anarchy, which is alone the only state worse than they endure, (Scafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indistan*, p. 32)

upstarts and adventurers¹ as provincial governors, and the other was the emergence and active participation of great European powers in the field of politics. 'There was a revival of Hindu feeling coincident with the gradual weakening of the Muhammadan power', and the Hindu aristocrats and zemindars sought to utilize this opportunity to redress their long-felt grievances. Nothing could efface from their minds the memory of the cruelties and oppressions of Murshid Kuli barely a generation ago, and they now wanted to 'feed fat their ancient grudges' and so they allied themselves with the English to overthrow the upstart Nawabs of Bengal². Colonel Scott wrote to his friend in 1754 that the Jentue (Hindu) Rajahs and inhabitants were much disaffected to the Moor Muhammadan government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their tyrannical yoke'.³

As long as the strong hands of Alyverdy held the reins of power, this feeling of discontent was not expressed by those Hindus, and by

¹ 'The mother of Alyverdykhan Mahabat Jung belonged to the tribe of 'Afshas', a class of Turks in Turkestan and was related to Shuja-ud-daulah, the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Jafar Khan and the Subedar of Orissa in his time. Mahabat Jung, together with his father and his brother Haji Ahmed, was in the service of Azim Shah. After the death of Azim Shah, Alyverdykhan was reduced to straitened circumstances and lived a retired life. In the beginning of the reign of Mohammad Shah, Mirza Mohammad, the father of Mahabat Jung, proceeded from Shahjanbad to Orissa in a most wretched condition and made his appearance before Shuja-ud-daulah and his father. Shuja-ud-daulah kept him also in his service. He then sent for his brother Havi Ahmed with his family and relatives. He remitted to them a decent amount for their travelling expenses, and they all travelled safe from Shahjanbad to Orissa. Haji Ahmed also got into the service of Shuja-ud-daulah. The two brothers were men of great merit and their services to Shuja-ud-daulah conduced much to the stability of his government. By virtue of his courage and judgment Mahabat Jung rose to a much higher position than his father, brother and other nobles of Shuja-ud-daulah's court.' "

Kulāṣatut Tawārīkh

² This was quite in keeping with the tradition of Indian history. Since the days of Alexander's invasion, it had become, as it were, the fashion of the aggrieved or the weaker party to invite or welcome a foreign power. Āmbhi, the King of Taxila, sided with Alexander against the powerful Hindu monarch Porus, Jayachandra invited Mohammad Ghorī against Prthvirāja, Bahalol Lodi invited Babar against Ibrahim Lodi,—and here also the Hindu aristocrats and zemindars greatly helped the establishment of the British power in Bengal. Mr Hill is of opinion that it was the special advantage of the English,—their 'power was based on a firm commercial footing and the grants made by the Emperor, which they could enforce in exact proportion with the weakness of the Local Government'—that attracted the Hindus towards the English—Hill's *Bengal in 1756-1757*, Introduction, p. lii.

³ Hill, *Bengal in 1756-1757*, vol. III, p. 328.

tact and sagacity, Alyverdy was able to utilize their services. Orme has remarked:—‘ Thus the Gentoo connection became the most opulent influence in the Government of which it pervaded every department with such efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to strengthen his administration and relieve his wants, and it is said that the Seats (Seths) alone gave him in one present the enormous sum of three millions of rupees as a contribution to support the expenses of the Morattoe war’¹ But it is doubtful if this attachment was a sincere one, bound by mutual love and sympathy. Both Alyverdy and his Hindu officers were prompted by political considerations, and the one could not easily dispose of the other without prejudicing one’s interest. The very language of Orme that ‘nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge’, shows the increased influence of the Hindu officials, whose support Alyverdy was probably anxious and careful to secure in order to combat successfully with the Maratha hordes or Afgan rebels. The Hindu aristocrats and zemindars also supported the Government of Alyverdy as it was fighting against the Marathas who were nothing but the terrible plunderers of their homes and property.² What of Alyverdy, Jagat Seth would have quite naturally supported any one, coming forward to drive out those Marathas who had sacked his banks and robbed him of two crores.

When the administration of the country fell into the hands of Surajah Dowlah, the loyalty of those Hindu politicians vanished, and most of them, with the exception of three or four, such as Rāmnārāyan³ Meer Madan Mohanlāl and Rāmrāmsingh of Midnāpore, joined in that ‘great conspiracy’ against the Nawab. During the first Nawabship of Mir Jafar, the relation between him and the Hindu officers like

¹ Orme, vol. II, page 53 (Ed of 1861)

² When a country is attacked by any external force or is tormented by a civil war, its peaceful citizens would quite naturally rally round their monarch, if he makes a sincere effort to drive out those evils. All questions of personal likes or dislikes vanish, for the time being, before the considerations of practical necessity.

³ ‘Of all the Gentoos, Ramnarain seems to have been the only man who did not join the conspiracy against Surajah Dowlah and who had given the French party a warm reception at Patna, as he regarded it as an important source for Surajah Dowlah in case hostilities should be renewed with the English’ (Orme, vol. II, p. 166.

Rāmnrāyan and Roydullub was one of deadly antagonism, and it was only the support of the English which saved them from the wrath of the Nawab¹. Had Mir Casim been ably supported by Shitāb Rāy and his party, then perhaps affairs might have taken a different turn, and the English would not have been so easily victorious at Udayanalā. The attitude of Shitāb Rāy towards Mir Casim was all along hostile, and no one can deny that the cause of the English was greatly furthered by the assistance of Shitāb Rāy, his son Kalyān Singh, Mahārājā Benī Bāhādur and Rāī Sādhorām. Mir Casim tried his utmost to employ Shitāb Rāy in his service, but the latter was too distrustful of Mir Casim to enter his services². On the contrary, he spared no pains to poison the mind of the English against the Nawab and was greatly instrumental in bringing about his downfall. Kalyān Singh has himself³ related in plain words his own activities, those of his father, of Mahārājā Benī Bāhādur, and Rāī Sadhorām in favour of the English. They greatly popularized the English cause at the courts of the Emperor and the Nawab Vazir, and persuaded the Emperor to grant the Dewani to the East India Company⁴. They could not forget their jealousy of Mir Casim even when the latter was a helpless fugitive in the camp of the Nawab Vazir.⁵

¹ 'Mir Jafar felt those restraints with abomination which turned his head to notions of emancipating himself from the ascendancy of the English, but warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raised him to the sovereignty, saw the necessity of first breaking the power of the Gentoos, in whom the English would find the same resources against himself, as he with the English had derived from them against Surajah Dowlah'—Orme, vol. II, p. 196. For details vide Orme, vol. II, pp. 277-359, Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 104-114.

² 'He had no trust or confidence in the Nawab. He considered him unprincipled, faithless and treacherous, and did not wish to have anything to do with him'.—*Khulāṣat-ul-Tawārīkh*, p. 102 a. For details vide *ibid*, pp. 986-1046.

³ *Khulāṣat-ul-Tawārīkh* the chap. 'An account of Mahārājā Shitāb Rāī Re-installation of Mir Jafar—Last days of Mir Casim. . . .'

'In this manner I used to call on the Nawab Vazir for a long time, when he always gave me a most patient hearing. In all my talks I impressed upon him the desirability of cultivating friendship with Mir Jafar and the English officials who were men of honour, and avoiding Mir Casim Khan who was a fickle-minded man of no character.' (*Ibid*).

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ *Ibid*.—'Mahārāj Benī Bahadur, for some reasons best known to himself intrigued against Mir Mohamad Kassim Khan. The Nawab Vazir was persuaded to pass an order for the imprisonment of Mir Mohamad Kassim Khan and the demolition of his house'.

HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS OF BENGAL

The supporters and partisans of the English were almost all Hindus or proteges of the Hindus. The English refugees at Fulta were greatly helped in their distress by the neighbouring Hindu Zemindar Rājā Navakrsna,¹ and by some of the merchants² of Calcutta, though the Nawab had passed strict orders against helping them in any way. All the Company's Gomasthas belonged to the Hindu community,³ and the native commissioners in Calcutta were all with two or three exceptions, Hindus,⁴ were the men who were favoured on account of their connections with the native commissioners.⁵ Thus the support of the powerful Hindu aristocrats and Zemindars greatly advanced the supremacy of the English East India Company in Bengal.

¹ 'When the English were on board at Fulta, Raja Naba-Kissen helped them greatly' —Long, p 93, footnote For further details, *vide* the article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

² The petition of Gangārām Tāgore and Locooi Sirkar, both merchants of Calcutta, to Mr Drake —Proceedings, November 17, A.D 1757 —' That your petitioners having supplied the Buxeyconnah with rice and gunnies when the Nawab marched on the place in 1756 confide in your goodness to be paid the amount of what they sent into the factory at the desire and orders of the Zemindar, as they are informed all other merchants and Doocandars have been paid by your orders.'

³ These Gomasthas were all actuated by selfish considerations of making money and took advantage of this opportunity to confirm their hold in the commercial transactions of the country They were long excluded from many economic advantages, which had been in the exclusive enjoyment of the native Muhammadan merchants and consequently they readily accepted the services of the East India Company with the hope of retrieving their lost fortune

⁴ Gobindrām and Ragoometre, Sooberām Bysāck, Ally Boye, Butto Sircāi, Sookdeb Mullik, Niān Mullick, Diārām Bose, Nilmony Hurrikissen Tāgore, Durgārām Dutta, Rāmsantose, Māhīnūd Suddock, Āyer Noody —*Consultations*, September 18, A D. 1752.

⁵ Chaithon Dās, Dulob Lucky, Cannant Norry, Churm Bysāck, Curoy Bissās, Gones Bose, Rāmdev Mitra, Sookdev Mitra, Rutharn, Lolta, Huttu Rāon, Rājārām Pālit, Durgārām Dedā Songā, Durgārām Surmat, Lilmoni Choudree.—*Ibid*

‘The Ring Fence System’ and the Marathas

BY

K M PANIKKAR

By the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company the Governor and Council of Bengal were faced with the problem of defending their newly acquired territories from the encroachments of the Marathas who at that time held sway over the whole of North India outside the Punjab. Ranoji Scindia had carved out a principality at Gwalior which his more renowned successor Madhaji consolidated and developed into a formidable military power. The Bhonslas had established themselves at Nagpur and extended their sway to the coast of the Bay of Bengal, exacting periodical tribute from the chieftains of the hilly tracts now known as Feudatory States of Orissa. The authorities of the Company lived in daily dread of an invasion of their territories by the Marathas, and the policy of successive Governors from Clive to Wellesley was directed to safeguard the Company's possessions from being devastated by the Maratha horse. The RING FENCE Policy, to which can be traced the development of the system of Protected States, was the defensive measure evolved to meet this danger

The fundamental idea of this system may be defined as the defence of your neighbour's boundary at his expense in order to protect your territories. The Company's territories under the Governor of Fort William were open to attack from the side of Oudh, Korah and Allahabad, Benares and Orissa. By the treaty of Buxar, the Company entered into an alliance with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, the most important clause of which read as follows :—

‘In case the Dominions of H. H. Shuja-ud-dowla at any time hereafter be attacked, the East India Company shall assist him with a part or whole of their forces. In the case of the Company's forces being employed in His Highness' services, the extraordinary expenses of the same are to be defrayed by him.’

By this clause the Company undertook to defend the Nawab Vizier against all aggressors, thus protecting the frontier of their own

province of Bengal. 'The defence of the Nawab's possessions from invasion is in fact the defence of ours,' said Warren Hastings at a later time. The relationship of the Company with Oudh was governed by this consideration. Even the much discussed Rohilla war was undertaken for this purpose

In a letter written to Col. Champion, dated May 28, 1774, Warren Hastings states as follows.—

'We engaged to assist the Vizier in reducing the Rohilla country under his Dominion that the boundary of his possessions might be completed by the Ganges forming a barrier to cover them from the attacks and insults to which they were exposed, by his enemies either possessing or having access to Rohilla country. Thus our alliance with him and the necessity for maintaining this alliance so long as he or his successors shall deserve this protection was rendered advantageous to the Company's interest, because the security of his possessions from invasion in that quarter is in fact the security of ours'

The Company had originally proposed to ward off the possibility of attack through Allahabad by neutralizing that territory by granting it to Shah Alum. But the Emperor ceded it to the Marathas thus bringing the danger one step nearer. Faced with a breach in the RING FENCE so laboriously constructed, Hastings hit upon the plan of giving the title to the districts to the Nawab Vizier, hoping thereby that the conflicting claims of the Vizier and the Marathas would render any alliance between them impossible. Writing to the Court of Directors on October 4, 1773, the Governor-General explained the purpose of the action as follows.—

'By ceding them (Korah and Allahabad) to the Vizier, we strengthen our alliance with him. We make him more dependent on us as he is more exposed to the hostilities of the Marathas. We render a junction between him and them, which has sometimes been apprehended, morally impossible since their pretensions to Korah will be a constant source of animosity between them.'

The same consideration led Hastings to guarantee the principality of Benares to Cheit Singh. Though Balwant Singh, the father of Cheit Singh, had died in 1770, Shuja-ud-dowla had not recognized Cheit Singh's succession to the gadi. Benares was important strategically to the Company as its possession gave the key to their province of

Bihar. Hastings visited Benares in 1773 and himself witnessed the agreement between Shuja-ud-dowla and Cheit Singh, by which the latter was confirmed in his territories on an increased tribute. Writing in 1775, Hastings remarked as follows :—

‘ The Raja of Benares, from the situation of his country which is a frontier of the provinces of Oudh and Behar, may be made a serviceable ally of the Company whenever their affairs require it. He has always been considered in this light both by the Company and by the successive members of the late Council ; but to ensure his attachment to the Company, his interests must be connected with it which cannot be better effected than by freeing him from his present vassalage.’ ¹

In pursuance of this policy, Benares was made independent of Oudh and brought directly under the suzerainty of the Company. On the death of Shuja-ud-dowla in 1775, the Company made the transfer of Benares a condition of its recognition of Asaf-ud-dowla. Article 5 of the treaty, dated May 21, 1775, laid down

‘ The said Nabob, for the defence of his country as above specified, declares that he has given up of his own free will and accord unto the British Company all districts dependent on Raja Chet Singh.’

The Benares frontier was thus made secure

The prospect of invasion from these sides, though apprehended by the authorities of the Company, was not so real at any time as from the Orissa side. The Maratha threat from the Midnapore side was not merely apprehended, but was actually on point of materialization on more than one occasion. In fact, the RING FENCE SYSTEM as a method of defence was put to the test only on the Orissa side.

The area between the British dominions in Bengal and the Maratha province of Cuttack was held by independent chieftains who nominally acknowledged the sway of the Marathas and paid tribute when they were forced to do so. The most important of these was the Ruler of Mayurbanj whose principality lay mainly on the Maratha side of the frontier but who also held the Zemindary of Nayabasan in the Company’s dominions. The Bhanja family was established in these tracts for many centuries and had enjoyed internal authority and independence even in the time of the Moghuls. ‘ They paid only a light tribute and were independent within their jurisdiction.’ ²

¹ *Bengal Secret Consultations*, February 13, 1775

² *Toynbee’s History of Orissa*, p 25.

According to the *Muraquat-i-Hassam*, during the inter-regnum that followed the serious illness of Shah Jehan in 1657, 'Krishna Bhanja of Hariharpur, the leading Zamindar of this province, spread his power over the country from Midnapur to Bhadrak.' ¹ Krishna Bhanja wielded considerable military power. *Muraquat-i-Hassam* states that 'he kept one thousand horse and ten thousand or twelve thousand foot soldiers and was obeyed and helped by all the Zemindars of this country (During the anarchy) he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur, carried off ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions.' ² In A.D. 1724, Emperor Mahommed Shah granted a farman to the ruler of Mayurbhanj by which the Maharaja was confirmed in his authority over his state.

When the Marathas established themselves in Orissa by the treaty by which Ali Verdi Khan ceded Orissa without Midnapore to RAGHOJI BHONSLA, the ruler of Mayurbhanj rose again into prominence. His submission to the Maratha power was nominal and the tribute which the governor of Cuttack demanded was paid only under compulsion. Mr. T. Motte, who was sent by Clive to Sambalpur to find out the condition of the country, reports as follows :—

'There is usually, at Ballasore, a party of thirty horse and five hundred foot, but at this time they were with Pellaji (Pillaji), collecting the tribute of the Mohur Bunge country. The Mohur Bunge country extends from the Neelgur (Nilgiri) hills to the sea; but having borne with impatience a foreign yoke, each expression of such impatience has been punished by dismembering part of the country, for every officer who behaved remarkably well in the expeditions against the rebellious princes was rewarded by a portion of their land under the name of a tallook.' ³

As the Mayurbhanj rulers held territory on both sides of the frontier, their support became necessary for the English for the protection of their provinces and for the Marathas if they wanted to enforce their claim of *Chauth* on Bengal. Damodar Bhanja, who became Maharaja in 1761, was a man who well understood the importance of his position when the Company occupied Midnapur as a result

¹ *Muraquat i-Hassam*, pp. 72 and 107. See also Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 205

² *Ibid*, p. 107, and also J. Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, page 207.

³ *Asiatic Annual Register 1799, Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 51,

of Mir Qasim's grant. Damodar Bhanja wrote a letter to Vansittart professing friendship which was acknowledged by the Governor with the same cordiality.¹ This friendliness on the part of Damodar Bhanja was no doubt prompted by the fear of an immediate invasion of his territory from the side of the Marathas, between whom and the Raja there was some difficulty owing to the support given by the Nagpur Government to the Nilgiri Chief who was a subordinate of the Raja. Mr. Motte writes in his narrative about this as follows :—

‘I left Ballasore the 27th of April, and halted under the tree near Ectiurpoor, where I entered Neelgur, formerly dependent on Mohur Bunge

* * *

The country is small, and pays rupees thirty thousand annual tribute to the Marathas, by whom the Raja is maintained against the claim of Mohur Bunge.’²

In 1763 the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj.³ The Raja seems to have held his own, for we find the Maratha general Bhavani Pandit writing to the governor on 16th November, 1764, that he ‘will shortly march to root out the rebellious Zamindars of Hariharpur, &c.’⁴

A letter of February 28, 1765, indicates that Bhavani Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj but had to retreat to Cuttack.⁵

Sambhaji Ganesh succeeded Bhavani Pandit as governor of Orissa in March, 1768. His first task was to collect the Chauth of Bengal and Bihar from the East India Company and, if that was not forthcoming, to lead an expedition for its collection. Sambhaji Ganesh wrote to Damodar Bhanja to this effect shortly after he took charge of Orissa. ‘That in case chout (Chauth) was not paid, he should march in his army in Bengal after the rains, and ravage the whole country, that in the meanwhile he intended to quarter his troops in Gorpudda (Garpada), which is between Jellesore and Ballasore, and that he (Damodar Bhanja) must prepare cantonments for them and be ready to join them in due time with the force.’ Damodar Bhanja was

¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. 1, 1020.

² *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 52.

³ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. 1, 1948.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 2481.

⁵ *Midnapur Records*, vol. 1, No. 34.

neither ready to allow the Maratha army to encamp within his dominion at Garpada, nor to join his forces with them against the English. To this communication Damodar Bhanja therefore replied that rice was then very dear and scarce in his country and therefore it was not advisable to quarter troops in Garpada as they would not be able to find subsistence there. As a result of Damodar Bhanja's refusal Sambhaji Ganesh quartered his troops in Keonjhar. That Sambhaji Ganesh had a large body of troops under his command and was keen about realizing the *Chauth* of Bengal is evident from his letter to the Governor received by the latter on the 1st April, 1768, in course of which he says 'A body of 50,000 horse will be attached to the English cause, provided that the Governor maintains a sincere harmony and discharges the *Chauth* according to the original agreement, as long as the province of Bengal continues under His Excellency's influence and power.'¹ When refusing permission to the Maratha Governor to quarter his troops at Garpada during the rains of 1768, Damodar Bhanja apprehended that the army of Sambhaji Ganesh, like that of his predecessor, might also be employed in reducing Mayurbhanj to subjection. He therefore sent a vakil to Mr George Vansittart, the Resident of Midnapur, to solicit the protection and alliance of the Company against the Marathas. Mr. Vansittart communicated the message of Damodar Bhanja's Vakil to the Governor (Harry Verelst) in a letter, dated the 15th July, 1768. Mayurbhanj was at this time an important buffer state between the British and the Maratha territories, and occupied a particularly strategic position, as the following observation by Mr. Vansittart in this letter to the Governor would testify.—

* * * * * his country is so advantageously situated that, with a very little assistance from us, he would at any time be able to prevent Marathas from entering into Bengal from the southward.'² In reply Mr. Verelst requested Mr. Vansittart to gather more information from the Raja of Mayurbhanj and to keep a strict eye on the activities of the Marathas.³

Nearly eight months after, on the 28th February 1769, Mr. Vansittart again informed the Governor that 'very strong reports

¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. 11, 892

² *Midnapur Records*, vol. 11, No. 366. ³ *Ibid*, vol. 11, No. 378.

prevail that the Murattoes really intended to invade these Provinces' and concluded :

' Would you choose that I should enter into a negotiation with the Mohrbunge Raja and engage our protection for his support ? I have reason to believe that he would be glad of such an opportunity to shake off the Moratta yoke, and the position of this country would, in case of Moratta troubles, render it extremely convenient to us.'¹

The realization of the strategic importance of Mayurbhanj led to efforts being made to secure the Maharaja's good will and to afford him protection as against the Marathas. In this policy, the authorities of the Company were greatly helped by the fact that a portion of the hereditary dominions of Damodar Bhanja lay in the Midnapur district and was held by him, according to the new principles of revenue farming introduced by the Company, as an ordinary Zemindar. It was not till the time that Mr. Graham was appointed as Resident at Midnapur that this area was reduced and brought under the operation of the regular revenue rules of the Company. As ' the continuance of this independence ' of the parganna in the western jungles was 'judged unsuitable in the present situation of our Government', a military officer with a party of sepoy was despatched against the Rajas, ' with a view to reduce them to a proper subjection to our Government on payment of first revenue and to enforce their obedience to the Resident at Midnapur '.² Damodar Bhanja resisted to desperation the attempt to reduce his territory within the Midnapore area to the position of a Zemindary and was more often in revolt against the Company's officers than otherwise.³ It was even attempted by the Company's authorities to ally themselves with the Marathas with a view to put Damodar Bhanja down. On the 29th December, 1783, the Governor-General of Bengal requested Raja Ram Pandit, the Maratha Subadar of Orissa, to commence joint hostilities against the Mayurbhanj ruler⁴ but nothing came out of this, and beyond issuing general edicts, no effort was made to chastise the Raja for his refractoriness. On the other hand, the revenue payable by him for the parganna of Nayabasan

¹ *Midnapur Records*, vol. 11 No. 442

² *Ibid*, vol. 1, No. 109

³ *Bengal MS Records*, Hunter, Nos 537, 561, 579

⁴ *Ibid*, letter No L.R. 583.

was considerably reduced. It is clear that the Company was anxious to keep him humoured as his help was necessary in case of Maratha troubles

Damodar Bhanja died in 1796 and a war of succession broke out between Trivikram Bhanja Deo, the adopted son of the deceased Raja and his widow, Rani Sumitra Devi who claimed the *gadi*. The Rani, in order to strengthen her position, sought and obtained recognition of the Marathas in respect of her principality on their side, and was likewise recognized by the British in respect of the *parganna* of Nayabasan held by Mayurbhanj in British territory. Rani Sumitra Devi continued the policy of Damodar Bhanja and maintained friendly relations with the British. Her position was at that time particularly important as Wellesley was on the eve of his campaign against the Marathas. By this time the position had so far changed that there was no fear of any attack by the Marathas on the Company's territories. But the British authorities were anxious to obtain possession of the littoral which connects Ganjam with Bengal. When war was declared against Bhonsla in 1803, the Company was anxious that Sumitra Devi, whose authority in Mayurbhanj had been displaced by that of Trivikram Bhanj Deo, should be restored to her State, as her help was deemed to be of great importance. In a letter written to the Mahant of Gopiballavpur, dated 23rd September, 1803, the Collector of Midnapur states :

'At present war has broken out between the English Company and Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla on account of disagreement. Consequently, an English army has been employed to take possession of the Katak province. Rani Sumitra Devi, Zemindar of Mayurbhanj, is staying at Gopiballavpur owing to her disagreement with her adopted son Trivikram Bhanja This disagreement and dissension among relatives is very undesirable You and Vaidyanatha Chaudary acting in union should bring about an agreement between the Rani and Trivikram Bhanja. If, according to the terms of the agreement, the Rani and Trivikram Bhanja become well-wishers and help the Company, it will be good for both. If the Marathas have oppressed and done injustice to them, the matter will be investigated and justice will be done. *The relations that exist between them and the Maratha Government will be continued.* There will be no deviation from it.'

Presumably, as a result of these efforts, Rani Sumitra Devi took possession of her State. She was requested to help the British forces proceeding to Cuttack and to hold her country against the Marathas, as will be seen from the following letter of her Vakil to the British Authorities:—

‘Durkhast of Bhagbut Churn Muhtee, Wukeel of Ranee Soomitra Bhunj, Zemindar of Nyabusawunt—

‘ * * * * In the year 1211 Amlee, the English Government undertook the conquest of Cuttack and owing to the fort Hurihurpoor which belong to your Petitioner’s client being situated on the confines of the Maratha territory, she was honoured with a purwanna from the Governor-General in Council to this effect. The English army is proceeding against Cuttack. *You will afford it every assistance in your power, and comply with any requisitions you may receive.* At the same time Mr. Ernst, Judge of Midnapore, issued a purwanna to your petitioner’s client informing her that the payment of the kists due from her Zemindar was suspended, directing her to afford every assistance to the English army, *and to guard with the utmost vigilance the Ghauts and passes of her Zemindary and in the event of any of the enemy making their appearance, to convey immediate intelligence thereof to the English army* informing her that, whatever expense she might incur in consequence would be deducted from the revenues of her Estate, Your petitioner’s client highly honoured by these commands immediately set about carrying them into execution.’ * * * * .

It will be noticed that the Rani was asked not merely to help the British armies but to defend her own boundaries and to guard all the passes leading into her territory. That, as has been pointed out before, is the essence of the RING FENCE policy. This letter also provides definite evidence that the Mayurbhanj State had completely disowned the Maratha allegiance and accepted the alliance of the East India Company.

With the conquest of Cuttack, the possibility of an attack on the Company’s possessions from that side vanished, and the RING FENCE had to be shifted to the new frontier. Like other states which began as parts of the defensive system Mayurbhanj became a protected State. This fact has a curious outcome which it is not necessary to discuss here—and that is, that by reason of its earlier relationship with the Company, this State was not mentioned in the Article 10 of

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the treaty of Deogun, by which the Bhonsla confirmed the treaties made by the Company with the Nagpur feudatories. Though Mayurbhanj was some time or other a tributary of the Marathas, it was deemed by reason of its close connection with the frontier policy treated here, to have freed itself from the Maratha yoke even before the campaign of 1803, as its rulers were in alliance and friendship with the Government of the Company.

The RING FENCE policy by which Bengal and Bihar were thus saved from attack was actually enforced only in Orissa. Its historical importance in the development of the Indian State policy is well recognized and need not be discussed here.

Gleanings from Sanskrit Mahakavyas

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(1) THE ŚĪSUPĀLAVADHA

SANSKRIT Mahakavyas are among the least utilized sources of Indian History. While Vedic literature has been enough to provide material for many big volumes on Vedic civilization, Sanskrit Mahakavyas have hardly supplied more than a score of facts to the histories of India. The neglect is, however, far from being justified. For, within the range of Sanskrit Mahakavyas lies scattered a large number of facts which can be gleaned and pieced together by painstaking students of Sanskrit.

Of the Mahakavyas too the most important, for the purpose of history is the Śīsupalavadha, the great epic poem written by Magha, the celebrated Sanskrit poet who, in point of poetic excellence, was considered superior to Kalīdas and Bharavi by old fashioned Pandits.¹ In this great Kavya the story of the final success of Kṛṣṇa and the death of Śīsupala, and a few other incidents have been taken from the *Mahabharata*. But the facts given there are so few that Magha is frequently obliged to draw upon his imagination to supply the want, and compose a book of twenty cantos. Most of the situations and descriptions are therefore Magha's own and owe little to the *Mahabharata*. It is this independence from the source-book which gives the Mahakavya its special value in the eyes of historians. Magha, if he does not describe things taken from the Great Epic and other sources, must have laid his own surroundings under contribution and made thereby his poetic composition a mirror of the age in which he lived.

¹ उपमा कालिदासस्य, भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।

नैषधे पदललितं, भाषे सन्ति त्रयो गुणाः ॥

For instance, the view about statecraft in the second canto, which owes little to the *Mahabharata*, reflects accurately the political conditions by which our poet was surrounded. The eighth century¹ in Indian history was a time of political disruption when kingdoms were falling like ninepins, and constantly changing their boundaries. With such an environment, Magha must have naturally reached the conclusion that 'the sum and substance of political wisdom is one's own rise, and the other's decline². Kings must have, as desired by him, never rested content with what they had acquired but ever tried to increase their dominions at the expense of their enemies.³ Diplomacy and secret service must have been ever active and monarchs fully believed in the dictum that 'intellect is a king's weapon, that subjects are his limbs, safeguarding secrets his armour, detectives his eyes, and messengers his mouth⁴. Forged letters must have been frequently used by traitors who pretended to be a king's friends, received pay from his enemies and struck at the ministers of the state by accusing them of conspiring with the enemy, and producing false written deeds to prove their treason.⁵

Again, if the twentieth canto be left out of consideration, the description of armies in the rest of the book will be found to abound in details drawn from life. In the twelfth canto, for example, the author does not rest satisfied with the description of the usual four arms—elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry, but goes on to speak about camels, mules and oxen which must have been used by the armies of the eighth century. Camels perhaps formed a separate corps.⁶ They were largely used by soldiers for riding, and traversing long distances⁷ in that part of India where Magha lived. Mules and oxen were employed as beasts of burden⁸ and large numbers of camels too served the same purpose.⁹ Magha's descriptions of camels are so frequent and lifelike that one is tempted to hazard the inference that Magha was most probably a native of some place in or near Rajputana

¹ For Magha's date, see Prof. Pathak's article in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xx, pp. 303-306.

² आत्मोदयः परग्यानिर्द्वयं नोतिरित्यतो ।

Canto 11, 30

³ Canto 11, 32.

⁴ Canto 11, 82.

⁵ Canto 11, 113.

⁶ Canto xii, 7, 18, 32.

⁷ Canto xii, 7, 18, 32.

⁸ Canto xii, 10, 19.

⁹ Canto xii, 9, 11.

where these animals are largely used, for riding and carrying burdens.

Of the four or five arms mentioned above, the war-elephants were, as shown by the large number of pages devoted to the account of their fighting, the most important for warfare. With their bodies covered with coats of mail¹, and tusks provided with baibs, these creatures must have worked terrible havoc in the hostile army. So eager did these remain for fighting that their eyes had to be covered with clothes which were not removed before their reaching the battle ground and the beginning of the fight in earnest². On their backs sat archers, who showered arrows on the enemy, and remained safe in some measure in their howdahs³. Hostile soldiers in their turn tried to blind the elephants by means of arrows⁴, and sometimes cut off the tips of their trunks by means of their swords⁵. On the whole, the war-elephant was a terrible creature. He could crush men under his feet, throw them in the air, and tear them to pieces with his trunk, tusks and feet⁶.

Cavalry was specially valued for its sudden onrush, quick speed and the breach it caused in hostile ranks⁷. The horses of which it was composed came from outside India⁸, and were carefully selected with regard to their speed, training⁹ and auspicious signs on neck and bosom¹⁰. In some cases so good was the training given in styles of movement and attack that under the direction of their leaders the horses did not fear rushing on elephants and allowing their masters time to attack these huge creatures with their spears¹¹.

Magha does not give more than one or two stanzas to the description of fighting between charioteers. Infantry receives a better treatment and was perhaps more in use than chariots.

Details about equipment are rather meagre. Elephants carried archers, horses spearmen¹², and the foot-soldiers had their swords and shields¹³. Discs¹⁴ and barbed darts¹⁵ which receive a slight mention at some places might have been used by some people. Strong armour was used by many in the army¹⁶.

¹ Canto xviii, 6.

² Canto xvii, 28, 29.

³ Canto xviii, 39, 9.

⁴ Canto xviii, 13.

⁵ Canto xviii, 45, xix, 67.

⁶ Canto xviii, 51.

⁷ Canto xviii, 13.

⁸ Canto v, 54.

⁹ Canto v, 60.

¹⁰ Canto v, 4.

¹¹ Canto xviii, 23.

¹² Canto xviii, 23.

¹³ Canto xviii, 21, 19, 4, xix, 55.

¹⁴ Canto xviii, 45.

¹⁵ Canto xxix, 59.

¹⁶ Canto xvii, 51, 21.

Drums were sounded¹, conch-cells blown², and banners waved³ as soldiers marched out to battle. Wine was drunk before starting, and intoxicants taken to simulate courage⁴. Bards accompanied warriors to the battle field, and praised loudly the valorous deeds of soldiers showing prowess⁵. Fighting must have been as usual a cruel affair. But its cruelty was perhaps softened a little by the chivalrous principles which directed that a flying enemy should not be pursued⁶, and the wounded soldiers should be protected even if they belonged to the hostile party⁷.

On marches strict discipline was commended, and generally maintained by good generals⁸. Tents were carried by armies and used whenever required⁹. If rivers were to be crossed in the course of march, a ford was probably sought out and a crossing easily effected. Women and children crossed by means of boats¹⁰, elephants, horses and oxen swam over the river¹¹, and soldiers must have generally done the same¹².

Camping arrangements vied in elaborateness the system described by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The king's camp was fixed in the centre and surmounted by a flag which served, as did the big lamp in Akbar's camp, to guide stragglers to their tents¹³. Women accompanied chiefs to the wars, and lived with them in their tents¹⁴. Merchants made the life easy, and supplied all sorts of things from their shops¹⁵. Prostitutes accompanied the king and his soldiers, set up their own tents, and used their well-known wiles in winning the hearts of people¹⁶. On the whole, camp life was fairly luxurious.

Interesting facts about religious life too can be had from the Mahakavyas. The Krishna and Bhakti cults are said to have taken their rise during the Gupta Period. If that is so, they had reached their full development by the eighth century. Krishna was at the time regarded as an Avatara and worshipped as such by all people. Devotion to him was believed to be an act of great merit, and a good means to salvation¹⁷. Stories of his life must have been eagerly drunk in by the masses who knew that he was the slayer of Putana,

¹ Canto xvii, 31, 32.

⁴ Canto xv, 81.

⁷ Canto xviii, 66.

¹⁰ Canto xii, 71.

¹³ Canto v, 13.

¹⁵ Canto v, 24, xii, 26.

² Canto xii, 13

⁵ Canto xviii, 16.

⁸ Canto xii, 36.

¹¹ Canto xii, 72, 73, 74.

¹⁴ Canto v, 22. See Canto xii, 34 also

¹⁶ Canto v, 27.

³ Canto xii, 44, 49, xviii, 8.

⁶ Canto xviii, 18.

⁹ Canto xii, 63, 4

¹² Canto xii, 75.

¹⁷ Canto xiv, 63.

Śakatasur, Kamsa and Shisupala¹. Of other Avataras, the best known were Varaha, Nṛsimha, Vāmana, Dattatraya, Parasuram, and Rama.²

Some items can be gathered about popular religion. That it was largely dominated by superstition is proved by the large number of things tabooed as evil if seen or done at the time of departure for battle. The falling of a bowl of water or wine was considered a sure sign of evil.³ If bangles slipped off, there was a fear that the woman would lose her husband, and be a widow.⁴ Sneezing denoted that the man going out would be unsuccessful in his mission.⁵ The word 'alam',⁶ falling of tears from the eyes, showing signs of distress,⁷ and asking one where he was going⁸ were certain to cause some obstruction. Even looking towards the feet of one's husband⁹ was a bad omen.⁹

Side by side with these superstitious notions went great mental activity among the higher classes of society. Nyaya, Vedanta, Yoga, and Sankhya flourished and the abstruse science of Metaphysics found many eager students. Perhaps the theory of Maya had been already formulated and expounded by some great Acharya.¹⁰ The Sankhya ideas of Prakriti and Purusa were not merely known but had also become the basis of Yoga Philosophy.¹¹ The Nyaya doctrine of the subsistence of qualities in the substrate was known and used by the poet.¹² Grammarians too were fairly active. Magha himself was a great scholar of this science and gives more than once proofs of his vast learning.¹³

Of social life the Mahakavya cannot be expected to give a full picture. But something at least can be definitely written about the morals of the people who allowed the Śisupalavadha to become popular and survive. They certainly cherished no Puritanic ideals. Prostitution was a popular system in their times, and the kings, not

¹ Canto xiv, 23-38.

² Canto xiv, 71-86.

³ Canto xiv, 81. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁴ Canto xiv, 47. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁵ Canto xiv, 91. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁶ Canto xiv.

⁷ Canto xiv, 96. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁸ Canto xiv, 87. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁹ Canto xiv, 86. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

¹⁰ Canto xiv, 70

¹¹ Canto iv, 55.

¹² Canto v, 38.

¹³ Canto xiv, 23-24, xvi, 80.

content with the large number of their wives, had courtezans¹ to wait upon and please them. Illegal love by Abhisarikas was a favourite motive with their poets,² and verses were written about the most intimate relations of man and woman.³ Drinking wine was a common evil which must have ruined many prosperous families.⁴

A few stanzas furnish some account of family life. Monogamy was not the general rule with people. In the eighth century, as now in the twentieth, rich persons had two or three wives.⁵ Homes were the scene of intrigues and counter-intrigues. Co-wives did not see eye to eye,⁶ and tried to supplant one another in the affections of their husbands. Sometimes matters went further. Indignant at their husband's transgressions, women threatened domestic non-co-operation. Reconciliation was in such matters often reached through the mediation of female friends who, by their sweet words, won the wives' hearts and made them forgive the faults of their husband.⁷

Some light on the way in which women lived will also be found interesting. They were, as now, confined within the four walls of their houses, and rarely allowed to stir outside. So great was the care taken about the *pardah* of queens and ladies of higher classes that men feared being beaten if detected seeing their faces even for a moment.⁸ *Amtahpur* or inner apartments were the women's residence proper, and the words *avarodhika*⁹ and *avarodhabadhu*¹⁰ employed by Magha connote the exact nature of their bondage.

Women tried various means to set off their beauty. They used jingling girdles,¹¹ ear-ornaments set with gems,¹² bracelets made of ivory,¹³ anklets¹⁴ and pearl necklaces.¹⁵ Various kinds of unguents were used. Of these the most commonly used were prepared with saffron, musk, and sandal.¹⁶ *Kunkuma* and *lodhra* powders¹⁷ were used for the complexion, and *alaktaka*,¹⁸ the red resin of several trees, was used for dyeing the lips and the soles of the feet. Flowers decked

¹ Canto xi, 20.

⁴ Canto xii, 38.

⁷ Canto vii, 7-11.

¹⁰ Canto v, 7.

¹² Canto vi, 27.

¹⁵ Canto viii, 9, xvi, 84.

¹⁷ Canto ix, 46, vii, 63.

² Canto ix, 21, 22.

⁵ Canto viii, 36-44.

⁸ Canto v, 17.

¹¹ Canto vi, 6, 14, Canto vii, 5.

¹³ Canto x, 43.

¹⁶ Canto ix, 7, vi, 24, xvi, 84.

¹⁸ Canto ix, 46, vii, 6, xvi, 84.

³ Canto x, 43-67.

⁶ Canto viii, 36-44.

⁹ Canto xii, 20.

¹⁴ Canto vii, 18.

the hair in profusion.¹ Betel-leaves were chewed and many kinds of scents used.²

A few details about the ways in which people enjoyed themselves will, we hope, not be out of place at the end of this article. Sometimes men went out on long excursions to forests and enjoyed themselves under their shady trees.³ Sporting in water was highly popular. Certain machines called *jalayantras* were used by people for throwing water on one another.⁴ Sometimes dust too was used by way of joke.⁵ Fairs were common. April or Chaitra was the month of enjoyment and merry-making throughout India. Kamadeva, the god of love, was the presiding deity of the Madhu festival which was held in the spring season and celebrated with great eclat by both men and women.⁶

¹ Canto v, 19.

² Canto viii, 70, Canto viii, 39

³ Canto vii.

⁴ Canto viii, 30.

⁵ Canto vi, 52

⁶ Canto vi, 19, cf. the accounts in *Ratnavali* and *Dasakumara Charita*.

Varahas of Sri Krishna Raya of Vijayanagara

BY

R. SRINIVASARAGHAVA AIYANGAR, M.A.

The Rev. H. Heras, S. J., has described a golden varaha of Sri Pratapa Krishna Raya of Vijayanagara in Part I, Vol. VII of the *Journal of Indian History* (April 1928.) Two incorrect statements have been made in it, one regarding the publication of the coin and another about the identity of the figure found on the reverse. This paper is intended to correct them and to describe clearly the gold coinage of Krishna Deva Raya.

(1) Prior to his description in the *Journal of Indian History* the Rev. H. Heras states that the coin in question was not published. This statement is not correct, for similar coins have been figured and described by several scholars. Their names and references to their works are noted below :—

Wilson	... Description of select coins in the possession of the Asiatic Society.	No. 88-89 in page 594 in the <i>Journal of Asiatic Researches</i> , Vol. XVII.
Marsden	Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern.	<i>Numismatic Circular</i> , Part II, No. 1070-1071.
Prinsep	... <i>Indian Antiquities</i> , Vol. II.	No. 13 in plate XLV.
Bidie	Pagoda or varaha coins of South India.	No. 12 a, b in the <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Vol. LI, Part I, 1883.
Elliot	... Coins of South India	Nos. 183 to 188.
Hultzsch	... Coins of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara.	Page 305, <i>Indian Antiquary</i> of September 1891.
Jackson	... The Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties.	Pages 352-353 in the <i>British Numismatic Journal</i> , 1912.

While seven scholars have taken the trouble to describe similar coins, it is somewhat misleading to state that the coin was unpublished hitherto.

(2) The Rev. H. Heras first of all thought that the figure on the obverse might be a representation of King Krishna Raya, and finally concludes that it could not be, as the figure does not agree with the description of Krishna Raya as found in other sources.

He then suggests that the figure might be a *sanyāsi*, and states that King Krishna Raya had him seated on his throne for a while, and concludes that this coin might have been issued to commemorate this event. He quotes some story to confirm his statement.

The Kings of Vijayanagara never had their figure on their coins. They always had the figure of a deity, except in the case of Achyuta Raya who had the bird *gandabherunda* on the reverse. These deities were either Śaiva or Vaishnava, or both, according to the religious beliefs of the king's. This was the case throughout. The figure in the present coin therefore neither represents Krishna Raya nor any *sanyāsi*, as stated by the Rev. H. Heras.

This point has been a matter of contest from the year 1832. Wilson took it as the representation of the Varāhavatār of Vishnu, while Bidie, Marsden and Elliot have taken it to be the representation of the goddess Durga (the bull-headed consort of Siva.)

But Dr. Hultzsch and Jackson considered it as the figure of Vishnu himself, perhaps owing to the presence of the conch and the discus and as Sri Krishna Raya having been known throughout as an orthodox Vaishnava.

The gold coinage of Krishna Raya consists of double, single and half varahas.

I. The double varaha has on the

OBVERSE.

Vishnu standing under an arch.

REVERSE.

श्री

कृष्णरा

य.

This is figured in No. 112 of the Coins of South India.

Dr. Hultzsch was doubtful of the issue of this coin by the absence of the word प्रताप, but this might have been issued early in the reign of the king and प्रताप might have been added when he began to conquer vast dominions to his kingdom.



1.



2.



3.



4.

HALF-ARAḬAS OF KRISHNADEVA RAYA OF VIJAYANAGAR

II. Single vārahas have got on the

OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

(a) Siva and Parvati seated.

(b) Female figure with right leg hanging down and left leg folded and placed over the seat.

श्रीप्र

तापकृष्ण

(c) Female figure with right leg folded and placed over the seat and with the left folded and kept erect over the seat.

राय

III. Half varahas same as II (c).

The Madras Government Museum has got in its collection eleven full varahas and thirteen half-varahas. Out of these eleven, one is like II (a), (Pl. 1), and one full and half varaha are like II (b), (Pl. 2). The rest including all other half varahas, have all the seated figures like II (c), (Pl. 3 and 4) which resembles the one figured by the Rev. H. Heras in his article.

The Rev. H. Heras has described. 'The obverse presents a nude figure of a man squatting on the ground. He wears no head dress. His face is absolutely worn out. He has one bangle round each arm over the elbow. His right hand seems to be slightly raised up before his chest as if making a gesture, while the left arm rests upon the knee, somewhat risen above the ground. Below the plank where this figure is squatting, there is a line of drop-like ornamentation, suggesting the decoration of a throne. Something like this is to be seen on the top behind the head of the figure. I could not make out the significance of these flourishes'.

The following is the description of the seated figure : A woman-like form is seated over a pedestal with the right leg folded and the left leg bent and kept erect. The right arm is bent and a ball-like thing is seen in the right hand. The left arm is stretched and is supported by the left knee. Bangles are worn on the two wrists and there are bracelets on both the upper arms. A zone with beads is worn round the waist. A trident-like thing appears over the head and above it there are a series of dots from shoulder to shoulder which may perhaps be to represent a rosary of *rudraksha* beads. In some cases these dots extend from the discus on the right side to the conch on the left. In the case of some coins, there are no dots but a wavy line is put up over the head.

While such is the description of the figure, it seems inaccurate to say that the figure is nude. Presumably the Rev. H. Heras has been tempted to draw this conclusion from the beads in the girdle worn round the waist. To all appearances the feminine figure is sitting on a pedestal and not on the ground as stated by the Rev. H. Heras. It has got a head-dress as may be seen from the trident-like thing over the head. The right hand is holding a ball-like object and not raised as if making a gesture, as stated by the writer. The pedestal over which the figure is seated is a *badrāsana* and not a throne as stated by him. There is no *tridanda* on the coin to indicate that the figure is that of a *sanyāsī* or ascetic.

The form, as observed in these coins, may be divided into two classes. Firstly, those having a trident-like thing on the head and a series of dots over the head and from shoulder to shoulder. Secondly, those having a wavy line above the head. The form, dress and ornaments worn clearly indicate that the figure is feminine. The position of the left leg is peculiar to *Śākta* deities. The ball-like thing in the right hand may be taken to represent the head of a human being which is usually carried by Durga. The feminine features, the trident-like thing on the head, the conch and discus on either side, the series of dots which may represent *rudrāksha* beads, all go to prove that the figure is no other than the goddess Durga. It is obviously from this figure of Durga that these coins were known by the name of Durgi Pagoda.

It may be asked whether it would be compatible for Śrī Krishna Raya, a staunch Vaishnava, to have a representation of Durga on his coins. According to a reliable¹ Telugu work, *Śringara Satya-bhāma Santvanamu*, by Kāmēśvarakavi, a golden image of Durga was worshipped as the guardian deity of the fort of Vijayanagara ever since its origin and all prosperity of the kingdom was believed to be due to this deity. The kingdom of Vijayanagara was at its zenith during Krishna Raya's time and it would be quite consistent to have the figure on the coin to respect the feeling that all prosperity was due to this Durga. This Durga was handed over to Viśvanatha Nayaka of Madura by king Achyuta Raya, from which time the kingdom began to decline.

Therefore there seems to be no doubt whatever that the figure in question is Durga and not a *sanyāsī* as suggested by Rev. Heras.

¹ Verse 26, I am indebted for this information to Mr. Prabhakara Sastrī of the Oriental Manuscripts Library.

The Khaza'inul Futuh

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU

CHAPTER IV

GUJRAT, RAJPUTANA, MALWA AND DEOGIR

Having described the dagger thrusts in many victories over the Mughals, I now come to the conquest of the Hindūs of Gujrāt.—¹ As the sword of the Emperor of land and sea had been plentifully smeared with the blood of the infidel Mughals, he wished to wash off this clotted impurity in the immense ocean. Consequently, on Wednesday, the 20th Jamādīul Awwal, 699 A.H., a fortunate day, he issued a *firman* to the '*Ariz-i Wala*'² to send an army, like clouds and rain, to the coast of Gujrāt to destroy the temple of Somnāth. Like an angel directing the clouds, the late Ulugh Khān (May God make him drink out of the fountain of His forgiveness!) was appointed to lead the victorious army. Resolved to conquer, the clouds moved towards the sea, and as the foundations of the temple were water-deep, *they wished to bring its summit to the water also.* When the Imperial army reached the City of that land,³ the sword of the righteous monarch completely conquered the province, which, adorned like a bride, had escaped so many emperors of the past. Much blood was shed. A general invitation was issued to all the beasts and birds of the forest to a continuous feast of meat and drink. *In the marriage banquet, at which the Hindūs were sacrificed, animals of all kinds ate them to their satisfaction.* Then the *Khān-i 'Azam*⁴ moved his army towards the sea.⁵ Round the temple of Somnāth, which is the centre of Hindū worship, he drew a circle with his troops, and planted his *Khajaz* spear so high towards the centre that its sharp point almost

¹ *Allusions to sea and rain*

² Minister of War. The office was then held by Hizhabruddin Zafar Khān.

³ Apparently Anhilwāra, the capital of Gujrāt, is meant. It is now known as Pattan.

⁴ *Khān-i 'Azam* and *Ulugh Khān* both mean the first *Khān* of the Kingdom. It was equivalent to the later title of '*Khān-i Khānān*'.

⁵ *Allusions to circle and centre.*

pierced the sky. The banner of Islām was elevated to the equator, while every arch emerging from the two semi-circles, into which the army was divided, without fail passed its arrow through the black dot of infidelity. So the temple of Somnāth was made to bow towards the Holy Mecca; and as the temple lowered its head and jumped into the sea, you may say that the building first said its prayers and then had a bath. The idols, who had fixed their abode midway to the House of Abraham (Mecca), and there waylaid stragglers,¹ were broken to pieces in pursuance of Abraham's tradition.² But one idol, the greatest of them all, was sent by the *maliks* to the Imperial Court, so that the breaking of their helpless god may be demonstrated to the idol-worshipping Hindūs. It seemed as if the tongue of the Imperial sword explained the meaning of the text. 'So he (Abraham) broke them (the idols) into pieces except the chief of them, that haply they may return to it.'³ Such a pagan country, the Mecca of the infidels, now became the Medīna of Islam. The followers of Abraham now acted as guides in place of the Brahman leaders. The robust-hearted true believers rigorously broke all idols and temples wherever they found them. *Owing to the war, 'takbīr,' and 'shahādat' was heard on every side, even the idols by their breaking affirmed the existence of God.* In this ancient land of infidelity the call to prayers rose so high that it was heard in Baghdād and Madāīn (Ctesiphon) while the 'Alāī proclamation (*Khutba*) resounded in the dome of Abraham and over the water of Zamzam.⁴ As to the city of Nahrwāla and the city of Kambāyat (Cambay), which the sea raises its head to swallow up, as well as the other cities situated on the coast—though the sea beats against them with force, yet the wave of the Muslim army did not turn to the sea to wash off the contamination of infidelity from the land, but cleansed the ground by a deluge of infidel blood; for if blood is not clean, and cannot cleanse, yet the sword is a purifier; and the sword having overcome the infidels, their blood became pure also. My

¹ Obviously referring to the custom of Mussalmāns praying at Hindū shrines. Muslim pilgrims to Mecca, it seems, used to visit Somnāth on their way. It was a great seaport and the place from which the pilgrims embarked on their voyage. Somnāth had been destroyed by Mahmūd, but like many other temples it had been rebuilt.

² *Allusions to Qibla (Mecca) and Abraham.* The holy Mecca was built by the Prophet Abraham.

³ The *Qurān*, chapter xxī, sec. 5.

⁴ A famous well in Mecca; Hagar's well.

object in this simile is not real blood, but (only to show) that *the sword of Islām purified the land as the sun purifies the earth.*¹

¹ 'In the beginning of the third year of 'Alāuddīn's reign, Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān marched to Gujrat with their *amīrs*, *sar-lashkars*, and a large army. The whole of Gujrat, including Nahrwala, was plundered. Karan, the Rāi of Gujrat, fled to Rām Deo at Deogir, while his wives, daughters, treasures and elephants fell into the hands of the Muslim army. The whole of Gujrat was conquered. They also sent to Delhi an idol, which the Brahmans had called Somnāth after the destruction of Nāth by Sultān Mahmūd, for the people to tread on. Nusrat Khān then proceeded to Cambay and took plenty of precious stones and valuables from the Khwājas (Muslim merchants) of Cambay, who were very rich. Kāfū Hazārdinārī, who later on became the *Mahk Naib* and infatuated 'Alāuddīn, was forcibly seized from his Khwāja and brought to the Sultan.' (*Barnī*).

While the army was returning from Gujrat, a serious mutiny broke out, which Khusrāu refrains from mentioning. It is, however, described by Barnī. 'When Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān were returning from Gujrat with their spoils,' he continues, 'they resorted to great severity and to kicks and blows to find out what spoils had fallen into the hands of the men and in demanding the fifth part, which was the share of the state. Their demands were extortionate, they would not accept the returns made by the men but wanted more. By compelling the men to drink salt water, and by various kinds of coercion, they wished to take away from them all the gold, silver, jewels and other valuables they had. These tortures drove the men to desperation. There were a number of 'New Muslim' *Amīrs* and horsemen in the army who collected together, about two or three thousand in number, and raised a revolt. They killed Nusrat Khān's brother, Malik Aizzuddīn, who was the *Amīr-i hayb* of Ulugh Khān and then proceeded tumultuously to Ulugh Khān's tent. Ulugh Khān cleverly came out of his tent unrecognized and escaped to Nusrat Khān's tent. A nephew (sister's son) of Sultan 'Alāuddīn was sleeping in Ulugh Khān's tent and the mutineers slew him under the impression that he was Ulugh Khān. The disturbance spread through the whole army and there was a grave danger that the spoils (of Gujrat) would be lost. But as 'Alāuddīn's power was destined to increase, even such a disturbance was soon quelled. The horse and foot of the army gathered before Nusrat Khān's tent, the 'New Muslim' *Amīrs* and horsemen were dispersed, and their ringleaders, who had instigated the revolt, fled for refuge to the *rajs* and other rebellious (chiefs). Further inquiry into the spoils was given up, and Nusrat Khān and Ulugh Khān reached Delhi with the spoils, treasures, elephants and slaves they had obtained in the plunder of Gujrat.

'When news of the "New Muslim" revolt reached Delhi, Sultan 'Alāuddīn, from the cruelty that was ingrained in his nature, ordered the wives and children of all the rebels, high and low, to be captured and imprisoned. Now was begun the practice of punishing women and children for the misdeeds of men, which had not till then been known in Delhi. But a more horrid act of tyranny was committed by Nusrat Khān, the author of many acts of violence in the City. In revenge for his brother's death, he dishonoured and disgraced the wives of those who had struck his brother with their axes; he gave them to sweepers to be used as prostitutes and ordered their suckling children to be broken to pieces on their heads. His actions filled people with horror and dismay. A shiver went through the hearts of men.'

A short sketch of the conquest is also found in the *Dawal Rānī*. 'When the territory of Sind, the mountains and the sea, had become obedient to him,

In a single campaign Rantambhor was conquered, and by the decree of Providence the land of infidelity became the land of Islam. ¹ When the

the Sultān's exalted judgment decided that the Rāi of Gujrāt should also come within his power. He sent Ulugh Khān to scatter the dust of that province to the winds and to defeat the Rāi with his superior wisdom. Like lions (the Mussalmāns) shed the blood of the *gabr*s by the side of the river and the sea, and the temple of Somnāth was overthrown with so much force that the earth trembled like the ocean.' (*Dawal Rānī*).

The fortunes (or misfortunes) of Rāi Karan's wife, Kamala Devī and his daughter, Dīval Devī, are described by Amīr Khusrāu in his *Dawal Rānī* and are summarized in prose by Ferishta. The story is too long for citation in a foot-note. (See my monograph on *Amir Khusrāu*, chapter II, Messrs Taraporevala, Bombay).

To Khusrāu's regard for the memory of Sultān Jalaluddin and his reluctance to refer to anything not morally creditable to 'Alāuddin, we may attribute his omission of the conquest of Multān by Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān. Arkali Khān, the eldest son of Sultān Jalaluddin, was governor of Multan when his father was assassinated at Karra. Sultān Jalaluddin's wife, the Malka-i Jahan, instead of calling Arkali Khān, hastened to place her youngest son, Ruknuddin Ibrahim, on the throne. Her action was probably due to the expectation that she would be all in all with a minor on the throne, whereas Arkali Khān had a will of his own. But when 'Alāuddin advanced towards Delhī, the Malka-i Jahan found herself too weak to make a stand and most of her officers deserted to the enemy. She frantically appealed to Arkali Khān, but he had been deeply wounded by his mother's behaviour and refused to stir. Finally when 'Alāuddin encamped opposite to Delhī, the Malka-i Jahan and Sultān Ruknuddin fled to Multān. 'The first project, which 'Alāuddin entertained after his accession to the throne, was the removal of the late Sultān's sons. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān were sent to Multān with many *Maliks* and *Amīrs* and an army of thirty or forty thousand horse. After they had besieged Multān for a month or two, the *Kotwal* and the citizens of Multān turned away from Sultān Jalaluddin's sons and some of their *Amīrs* joined the besiegers. Jalaluddin's sons asked for peace through the mediation of Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Ruknuddin, after it had been promised and the terms settled, they came out (of the city) with the Shaikhul Islam and all their *Maliks* and *Amīrs*. Ulugh Khān treated them with honour and quartered them near his own tent. He sent a message of victory to Delhī, where it was read from the pulpits and then despatched to the provinces. *Qubbahs* (cupolas) were constructed in the City and drums beaten in joy. 'Alāuddin's power over Hindūstān was now established and he had no enemy or rival to fear.'

'Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān, who had the sons of Sultān Jalaluddin (both of whom had once possessed the canopy) together with all their *Maliks* and *Amīrs* in their hands, now started for Delhī. On the way they met Nusrat Khan, who had been sent to them. The two sons of Sultān Jalaluddin, Ulugh, a son-in-law of the late Sultān, and Malik Ahmad Chap, the *ex-Nasir-i Amir-i Hajib*, were all blinded. Their *harems* were separated from them and their wealth, goods, slaves and slave-girls, in fact, all they possessed, were seized by Nusrat Khān, who imprisoned the sons of Sultān Jalaluddin in the fort of Hansi and put the sons of Arkali to death. He brought their *harems*, together with the Malka-i Jahan and Ahmad Chap to Delhī and kept them as prisoners in his own house.' (Barni, *Persian Text*, p. 249-50).

¹ *Allusions to the sun and planets.*

celestial canopy of the Shadow of God cast its shade over the hill of Rantambhor and the conqueror of the world emitted his heat like the sun over the unlucky inhabitants of that place, the days of their life began to decline. The towering fort, which talked with the stars through its lofty pinnacles, was surrounded by the troops. The Saturnian Hindūs, who are related to that planet, had for purposes of defence collected fire in all the ten towers, thus *turning the towers of earth (burj-i khākī¹) into towers of fire*. Every day the fire of those people of Hell extended its heated tongue to the light of Islām. But as the Mussalmāns, men of pure elements, had no means of extinguishing it, they took care of their own water (morale) without trying to overcome the fire. Sand-bags were sewn and with them a *pāshīb* was constructed. From the sowing of sand-bags it seemed that the Emperor of the world was investing the sand even with a robe of honour in reward for its capturing the fort. What then was to be the reward of men? *May the country prosper under such an Emperor till water and earth, fire and air continue to exist* ² When the *pāshīb* rose high enough to touch the western tower of the fort, the Imperial Westerners (*maghrabīs*) appeared like the trunk of an elephant on its summit and shot large earthen balls. A mountain moved against the infidel fort, and the hearts of the Hindūs began to fail them.

³ Some 'New Muslims' from among the ill-starred Mughals had turned their faces from the sun of Islām and joined the Saturnians.⁴ All these men of Mars had collected together in the tower of fire (*burj-i atshin*); but though they had lighted a fire in all the three towers, and gathered like particles in the 'heaven full of stars', yet was Mercury (*tir* or arrow) caught in the sign of Saggittarius (*qaus*), and wandering towards the fire, was totally consumed. From⁵ Rajab to Zil

¹ The signs Taurus, Virgo and Capricornus

² Allusions to 'manjanīq.'

³ Allusions to stars.

⁴ A number of 'New Muslims', i. e. Monogols converted to Islām, had rebelled when the army of Delhī was returning from Gujrāt and sought refuge at Rantambhor. They were among its staunchest defenders

⁵ The following appears to be the sense of the sentences of which a literal translation is given above 'When 'Alāuddin began to pile up his sand-bags on the western side of the fort, the martial Hindūs (who though Saturnians were the Men of Mars as well) and their "New Muslim" comrades collected together in the three western towers of the fort, which looked like "the heaven full of stars". From here they threw fire on the besiegers who were constructing a *pāshīb* at the foot of the fort and at the same time shot their arrows (Mercury) also. But

Q'ad the victorious army remained encamped at the foot of the fort. From the towers above, the fire rose high enough to evaporate the water-laden canopy of the clouds, but the fortunate Mussalmāns gathered together every day at the extremity of the *pāsheb* and carried forward the Imperial banner. With the impetuosity of Bahrām the brave warriors penetrated like salamanders through a fire that scared away the lion of the sky (the sun). To the sound of pipes, the *pātko* (footmen) from above made their arrows dance over the fire so that even birds could not fly over the ethereal sphere; the royal falcons were, therefore, unable to reach the dome of fire which extended to the sky. ¹ Again, the *irādas* inside the fort, being the brides of the Hindūs, had borne them female offsprings of stone and were openly throwing them out by the end of *Sha'bān*. The Imperial *ghazbāns* took account of their misdeeds and stoned them. *For inevitably the mischievous is stoned.* The stones of the besieging *magharābis* went up in the air and struck the clouds with such force that lightning was emitted from them. Heavy stones fell like hail on the heads of the besieged; they ate them and became cold. Yes! Their provisions being finished, they ate stones. Famine prevailed to such an extent within the fort, that they would have purchased a grain of rice for two grains of gold but could not get it. The fire of hunger had roasted their hearts within their earthen bosoms—and they wished to open their bosoms and eat up their roasted hearts. *Man can bear all afflictions except that of a starving stomach.*

² When the celestial sun had ascended the steps of honour and sat in the sign of Aries to hold the festival of the New Year's day (*naurūz*), *tankas* of gold were showered on the earth like falling leaves, and it became finer than a garden. After the *naurūz*, the Sun of Justice (the Sultān) shone full on the Rantambhor hill and every day its heat and

the arrows they shot (so Amīr Khusrāu imagines) wandered into the fire they had thrown and were consequently burnt.

¹ *Allusions to manjanīq (catapult).* *Irāda*, *manjanīqs* and *magharābis* were various machines for shooting stones at the fort walls and were largely used in siege operations. The central piece, it seems, was a large wooden beam moving upon a pivot, the strongest men of the army were made to pull one side of the beam so that the other side moved forward and hit the stone like a cricket bat. The stones were chiselled into a round or oblong shape of the size of a football on the average. I succeeded in discovering a fairly large number of these *manjanīq-stones* at Chitor.

² *Allusions to seasons of the New Year*

light increased,¹ till finally the lofty fort, which drew its water-supply from the azure sky, became a desert from lack of vegetation and water. The world seemed smaller to the Rāi (of Rantambhor) than the prison within a rose-bud. So in his desperation one night he lighted a high fire, which rose like a mountain-tulip on the hill, and threw into it the rosy-coloured young maidens, who had grown up in his arms. After he had personally despatched to hell these deserving inmates of paradise, he came to the head of the *pāshib* with one or two other unbelievers, bent on sacrificing his life with honour. Though the morning breeze had begun to blow, the narcissus-eyes of the watchmen had not yet closed in sleep. The melody of the bulbul accompanied the Rāi as he advanced. The rose raised a cry. The watchmen drew their swords of lily, sprang up from their places like the morning breeze and put the Rāi to flight, as the winter-wind annihilates the blooming cypress. Thus on the fortunate date, Tuesday, the 3rd *Zil Qa'd*, 700 A H such an impregnable fort was taken through an exercise of the strong will.² The title of the 'Place of Islām' was sent from heaven for this house of infidelity. The inhabited parts of Jhābun, that old land of paganism, became the 'New City' of the true believers. The great Imperial banner stood over the iron fort like a key in a lock; for it was the key for the conquest of southern lands. First the temple of Bāhir Deo, the support of which he had invoked, was destroyed. Then the houses of infidelity were overthrown by the strong arm of the holy warriors. Many strongly built temples which the trumpet of the Day of Judgment could not have shaken, went to sleep on the ground as the morning breeze of Islām blew upon them. The stones of the infidel fort had grown deaf from hearing the Hindū conches, but now they re-echoed the (Muslim) call for prayer. Where formerly the loud pealing of the Brahman's kettles had torn the ears of the Hindūs, now the sound of the Prophet's *Khutba* filled true believing ears with a melodious joy. *Henceforward whichever side the Imperial armies march, I know their arrow will hit the mark; wherever the Imperial 'Khutba' is read, its fame will resound to the sky.*³

¹ 1 e after the New Year's festival, 'Alāuddīn distributed gold to his troops and pressed on the siege with greater vigour

² *Allusions to fort and mosque.*

³ 'Next the Sultān planned another expedition to win elephants and treasures. Ulugh-Khān went to Jhān and moved towards the fort of Rantambhor. The army invested the fort as the sea invests the land. The Emperor also went

This is an account of the conquest of the Fort of Mandū and of the whole of Malwa.—¹ When the lancers of the victorious army had put antimony into the eyes of the more dim-sighted *Rāis* with their spears, many powerful *Zamīndārs*, gifted with greater keenness of

after him and the august pavilion was pitched up on the hill. The fort itself was as high and exalted as the family of the *Rāi*, Hamīr Deo, who, though a descendant of *Rāi* Pithaura, exceeded his ancestor in pride. He had *rāis*, *rāwats*, *rānas* and an army beyond computation, there were well caparisoned elephants, thousands of horses swift as the wind and footmen without limit. The fort of Rantambhor, which is two weeks' march from Delhi, was encircled by a wall three *farsangs* in length. The Sultān attacked the fort as 'Alī had attacked *Khaibar*. The *maghrabīs* began to strike the fort from east and west with such force that at every stroke one of the towers threw its hat on the ground, because the stones were sent by the Emperor, the fort kissed the ground as soon as they touched it. The Sultān was firm in his determination and reduced the fort in a month or two. As the fort was struck by stone after stone in succession, the path which had been attempted for thirty years was cleared, and through the pious resolve of the Sultān, the desire of an age was fulfilled in a month. When this "land of infidelity" became the "land of Islām," the Sultān assigned the palace and the fort of Rantambhor to Ulugh Khān while he himself returned to the capital' (*Dawal Rānī*). There are three mistakes in this short description: the time was considerably longer than is asserted, the fort was reduced not by *maghrabī* strokes but through the arduous process of the *pāshīb*, and the affair was anything but the easy walk over a reader of Amīr Khusrāu would imagine.

Barnī's description gives an idea of the difficulties that faced 'Alāuddīn at Rantambhor. 'The first expedition of the Sultān was against Rantambhor, which was (comparatively) nearer to Delhi and had been seized by Hamīr Deo, grandson of *Rāi* Pithaura of Delhi. Ulugh Khān, who held the territory of Bīāna, was sent against the fort and Nusrat Khān, who was governor of Karra that year, was ordered to march to his assistance with the army of Karra and the other provinces of Hindūstān. Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān captured Jhāin and laid siege to Rantambhor. But one day Nusrat Khān, who had gone too near the fort in order to direct the construction of the *pāshīb* and the raising of the *gargaī*, was struck by a stone shot from a *maghrabī* in the fort and died after two or three days. When the news was brought to 'Alāuddīn, he came out of the city in royal splendour and started for Rantambhor. (At Tilpat, however, 'Alāuddīn's nephew, Akat Khān, tried to assassinate him and the plot just missed success.) After this event the Sultān marched by continuous stages to Rantambhor and fixed his camp there. The siege, which had been commenced before his arrival, was now pushed on with greater vigour. Ropes were brought from every side and woven into sacks, which were distributed to the army, to be filled with earth and thrown into the ditch. The *pāshīb* was constructed and the *gargaī* was raised. The besieged destroyed the *pāshīb* with their *maghrabī*-stones and threw fire from their ramparts, while the besiegers established themselves over the territory of Jhāin till Dhār. (At this juncture the Sultān's nephews 'Umar and Mangū revolted at Badāūn and Oudh while a freedman, Hājī Maula, raised a rebellion in Delhi.) News of the tumult and disturbance at Delhi was brought to 'Alāuddīn but he had made a princely resolve to conquer Rantambhor and

¹ *Allusions to eyes.*

vision, threw aside their boldness and impudence from fear of the stone-piercing arrows of the Turks. They came to the Imperial Court with open eyes and turned its threshold into antimony by rubbing their black pupils upon it, at the same time they saved their bones from becoming antimony-boxes for the dust.¹ The Emperor regarded every one of them with an affectionate glance, and threw on them a ray of his favour, which their eyes had never expected to behold. Finally, no impudent infidel remained in the provinces of Hind; some had gone to sleep on the scarlet-coloured bed of (Imperial) punishment; others had opened their eyes and bowed in obedience before the Court.

But on the southern frontier, Rāi Mahlik Deo of Mālwa and Kūkā Pardhān had a permanent army of thirty or forty thousand chosen

refused to stir from his place. The large army investing the fort was weary and sick of the siege—it was mid-summer—but from fear of ‘Alāuddīn’s punishment no horse or foot could either return from the army to Delhī or desert it and fly away to some other place. Repeated rebellions had aroused ‘Alāuddīn from his sleep and he strove hard to reduce the fort. After much bloodshed and a hard struggle, Rantambhor was at last captured, and Hamir Deo and the ‘New Muslims’, who had fled to him after the Gujrat rebellion, were put to death. The Sultān assigned Rantambhor and its territory to Ulugh Khān and returned to Delhī’ (*Tārīkh-i Firozī*).

Ferishta adds a few details to Barni’s account. ‘After Nusrat Khān’s death, Hamir Deo came out of the fort with two hundred thousand horse and foot and offered battle. Ulugh Khān raised the siege and withdrew to Jhāin, from where he wrote of the state of affairs to the Emperor. After the siege had dragged on for one year—or, according to another statement, for three years—the Emperor collected a large army from all sides and distributed bags to them. Every man filled his bag with sand and threw it into the ditch, called ‘īan,’ till an ascent to the wall being formed, the besieged were overpowered and the fort captured. Hamir Deo fell along with his tribe. Most of the rebels, led by Mohammad Shah, who had fled to Rantambhor from Jalore, fell in the siege. Mir Mohammad Shah himself was lying wounded. When the Sultān’s eye fell on him, he asked him out of kindness, ‘If I have your wounds attended to and rescue you from this dangerous condition, how will you behave towards me in future?’ ‘If I regain my health,’ the other replied, ‘I will put you to death and raise the son of Hamir Deo to the throne.’ Stung to fury, the Sultān ordered him to be cast under the elephant’s feet, but soon after, remembering Mohammad Shah’s courage and loyalty, he ordered the dead man to be decently buried. Further, ‘Alāuddīn put to death those who had deserted the aforesaid Rāja—the Rāja’s wazīr Ranmal, etc. ‘Such has been their behaviour towards their own master,’ he said. ‘How can they be loyal to me?’

¹ Antimony (*surma*) is extensively used in India, partly as a medicine, and partly as a toilet for the eyes. *Surma* is put on the eyelids with a large blunt needle, the Imperial army used its spears instead to cure the dim sight of Rāis. *Surma* is generally kept in small phials of wood or ivory.

horsemen. The darkness of their (minds) and the dust raised by their legions had put the antimony of pride in their eyes. 'When Fate decrees, the sight is blinded'. A curtain had fallen before their eyes and they forsook the path of loyalty. Consequently, a body of select troops was sent by the Emperor against them and fell on those blind wanderers all of a sudden. Victory itself preceded them and had her eyes fixed upon the road to see when the triumphant army would arrive. When the army of Islām came upon the rebels, their eyes were closed and their necks were cut open with the blows of the sword. Streams of blood sank into the ground. So far as the human eye could see, the ground was muddy with blood. The Hindūs tried to fly away from the blood-eating earth, yet with eyes full of tears many of them sank in the mire. At this moment Kūkā came blindly forward, but his horse remained stuck in the mud 'like black earth in the mire'. In the twinkling of an eye he was pierced by innumerable arrows, and looked like a bee-hive with a thousand compartments, all full of bees. Then his soul fled to the streams of the under-world, while his unfortunate head was sent to the Imperial Court, so that it may attain to a real sublimity by being placed under the feet of the royal horses below the Palace Gate.

When Mālwa, an extensive territory of which even clearsighted geographers are unable to discover the limits, was conquered, it was necessary to entrust it to an experienced and clever governor (*mutaṣarrif*), who would not only keep a firm hand over the newly conquered land, but also through courageous judgment and great efforts reduce the fort of Māndū, an edifice so high that the human eye was unable to see its summit. The Emperor surveyed with a critical eye the confidential and trusty servants of the state to see which of them most deserved being entrusted with such a post. When his inspired mind had come to a conclusion, he mentioned to the *Hājib-i-Khās* with his brow: 'Teli 'Ainul Mulk' (the Eye of the State) that I have seen foresight in him. I am giving him the title of 'Ainul Mulk' and elevating him to a very high office. I entrust him with the province of Malwa, where the darkness of infidelity has been

¹ The whole of this passage is based on allusions to the eye. This was naturally suggested by the title of 'Ainul Mulk Multānī (the eye of the state), who was the first governor of Mālwa. The Hājib i-Khās or Imperial Chamberlain was one of the greatest officers of the Court.

illuminated with the light of Islām. He is to use his foresight with skill, without permitting his eyelid to cover his pupils in sleep at the command of night. A handful of thorns still remain in that land, and he is not to consider his eyes safe from being pricked by those ignoble people. He has to conquer the fort of Māndū by closing up the streams and making breaches in the walls ; and when, by the kindness of the " Opener of the Gates ", the place has been conquered, he has to wash away, with the sharpness of his sword, the contamination of infidelity, which sticks to that pagan land as evil intentions stick to the eyes of the rebellious. The cowardly Mahlik Deo has withdrawn to his fort as the eye of a blind man sinks into its socket. Bring him out by such means as you can in order to overawe the other Hindūs. And if, even for a short time, he remains safe in his fort from the arrows of the Mussalmāns, you are to expect nothing but anger from me. *There is reproof for him if he is unable to flow streams of blood on the mountains* ' The ' *Ḥajib-Khās* ' came and in his official way told Aīnul Mulk exactly what the Imperial order was. ' Aīnul Mulk stood up as the eyelashes stand upon the eyelids, rubbed his forehead on the ground and accepted the royal *firmān* with the pupils of his eyes.

'Aīnul Mulk started on the mission with his troops and opened wide his joyous eyes to accomplish the task entrusted to him by the Emperor. He cleared the territory (Mālwa) of the remaining evil doers as the eye is cured of its inflammation, till finally his sword refused to do any further work and went into the 'eye' of its scabbard. The dark faced Rāi, like a grain of *chāksū*,¹ had sought shelter between two stones, but he only made it clear that he would be peeled and ground for the sake of 'Aīnul Mulk (the Eye of the State). From dimness of sight, the Rāi sent the 'light of his eyes'² in front, thus making him a shield for his own eyes. At the same time he placed round his son an enormous multitude, which only contributed to his fall, as overgrown eyelashes injure the eyes. All at once a body of 'Aīnul Mulk's troops fell upon them, like the dust storm that overpowers the eyes of men. In an instant the boldest of them

¹ '*Chāksū*' is a grain, resembling a lentil, from which a remedy for the eyes is prepared. The Imperial army being commanded by 'Aīnul Mulk, it was necessary for the Rāi to be like a grain of *Chāksū* so that he may be ground into powder for the 'Eye of the State'.

² i.e. his son.

were rolling in blood and dust, while the Rāi's son slept the sleep of death. But 'Aīnul Mulk's clear judgment was not content with this success and he wished to lure the Rāi himself out of his cave. He was planning this when a spy (*didban*) came back from the fort and undertook to guide them. The man led them by a way he had discovered, illuminating the path with the lamp of his eyes. In the course of the night 'Aīnul Mulk's army reached the summit and fell on Mahlik Deo with the impetuosity of a shooting-star before even his household gods were aware of it. Then eye-piercing arrows began to pour on them like innumerable drops of rain, while the flashes of the sword dazzled their eyes. The meteoric arrows kindled a fire in the bodies of these demons (*deos*)¹ brought up in the shade. Rāi Mahlik Deo (the fierce dēmon) was burnt from head to foot in his battle with the shooting-stars and fled to the stream of Sār, where he was slain. This event occurred on Thursday, the 5th of Jamādiul Awwal, 705 A.H. The gate of the fort of Māndū was opened before them like the eye of fortune. Where, formerly, through secret magic and tricks that deceived the sight,² the *gabrs* had drawn a veil over the people's eyes with the dark sayings of infidelity, now true believers, under the 'brows' of the arches, bowed in thankfulness to the ground. The eyes of the angels were illuminated with the light of congregational prayers and Friday sermons. The four walls of the fort resounded at all the five prayers to the sound of the 'Opening Verses' '(All) Praise is due to Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds'. Malik 'Aīnul Mulk wrote down all this with the black of his pupil and sent it through his *hajib* to the Emperor to be placed before his august eyes. The wise king under the shadow of his canopy is like the 'Idea of Man'; for the 'Eye of God' is over him.³ When this good news was brought to the Emperor, he bowed down in thankfulness and assigned the territory of Māndū also to 'Aīnul Mulk. *May God perfect the Empire of the Sulṭān and guard his perfection with the Perfect Eye.*⁴

¹ The word 'Deo' means 'god' in Sanskrit and 'demon' or 'giant' in Persian. *Khusrau* is very fond of playing upon its two meanings.

² '*Chashm bandī*', apparently an allusion to the still prevalent belief that through the force of magic the eyes of the audience can be made to see things which do not really exist

³ An allusion to the Platonic Doctrine of Ideas.

⁴ 'Next the Emperor resolved to conquer the countries of the southern *rāīs*. There was a warlike *wazīr*, named Kūkā, who had more influence in Mālwa than

*This is the account of the conquest of Chitor, which towers like the sky on the earth:—*On Monday, the 8th Jamādius Šānī, 702 A.H. the Conqueror of the World, resolved on the conquest of Chitor, ordered his high-sounding drums to be beaten. The crescent-banner was moved forward from Delhī and the Imperial canopy was raised up to the smoky clouds, the sound of the drum reached the bowl of the sky and conveyed to it the good news of the Emperor's determination. Finally, the confines of Chitor were reached. The Imperial pavilion of which the clouds may be considered the lining, was pitched up in that territory between two rivers.¹ The enthusiasm of the army

the Rāi himself. He had forty thousand horsemen and foot beyond all computation. But ten thousand (horsemen) sent thither from the capital shattered Kūkā's army. The heads of the slain reached the Sultān in quick succession, new flags were put on the Imperial banner. He who does not come to pay obedience to the Emperor on his 'feet', is compelled to come on his 'head'.¹ Away from Mahlik Deo, who had remained on his mountain, the Hindus were slain and captured in large numbers. But as the Sultān had determined that the light of Islām was to fully illuminate those parts, he motioned to 'Ainul Mulk with his brows that he was to betake himself to Mālwa with speed. With the foresight he had, 'Ainul Mulk obeyed the order with the pupils of his eyes, and started for Mālwa with his troops, who surrounded him as the eyelashes encircle the eyes. Though General 'Ainul Mulk was a man of letters, he had also a reputation in the army for the strength of his dagger-thrusts. Supported by the good fortune of the Emperor, 'Ainul Mulk first cut down the *rūis* of the place and then for a time gave grass and water to his horses round the fort of Māndū. Cutting the thorax of the ground with his dagger, he battered at the fort with iron. But it was a strange fort, four *farsangs* in circumference and high enough to touch the mirror of the sky. 'Ainul Mulk tried to find a path, but it was hard to find one that would lead them to the towers that rose as high as the moon. But an opening having been suddenly discovered, the army rushed to it from both sides of the fort. The Rāi was captured and slain near the Sār, and news of the victory was sent to the Emperor, who assigned the conquered territory to 'Ainul Mulk'. (*Dawal Rānī*)

'Ainul Mulk Multānī, one of the great *maliks*, was despatched with a large army to conquer the territories of Mālwa, Ujjain, Chanderī and Jalore. When 'Ainul Mulk reached Mālwa, Kūkā, the *raja* (?) of the place, came out to meet him with forty thousand Rājput horse and a hundred thousand foot. A fierce battle took place between the two armies, and 'Ainul Mulk was victorious. Having conquered Ujjain, Māndū, Dhāranagri and Chanderī on the 10th Jamadiul Awwal, he sent a message of victory to the Emperor. In Delhī for seven days and nights drums were beaten in joy, and sugar was loaded in carts and distributed to the citizens. Katar Deo, ruler of the Jalore fort, was frightened at the conquest of Mālwa. He obtained a safe-conduct through the intermediation of 'Ainul Mulk, presented himself before the Emperor and was enrolled among the allies.' (*Ferishtā*).

¹ The Gambherī and the Berach. A map of Chitor has been published by the Survey Department of the Government of India,

shook the two seashores like an earthquake, while the dust raised by the feet of the troops rendered the two deep rivers fordable. The two wings of the army were ordered to pitch their tents one after the other on the two sides of the fort. It seemed that water-laden clouds had alighted at the foot of the hill. For two months the flood of the swords went up to the 'waist' of the hill but could not rise any higher. Wonderful was the fort, which even hailstones were unable to strike! *For if the flood itself rushes from the summit, it will take a full day to reach the foot of the hill.*

Nevertheless, the celestial fort, which raised its head above the clouds, would have bowed to the ground at the strokes of the *maghrabī* stones. But Jesus from the *Baitul Ma'mūr* (Mecca) sent the good news of the building of Mohammad's Faith; consequently, the stones of the building remained intact and kept their secret to themselves.¹ On a hill, named Chatar-wārī, the Emperor raised his white canopy every day like the sun, and as is the custom of rulers, attended to the administration of the army. He ordered the eastern wrestlers (*pahlwāns*) to draw the westerners (*maghrībīs*). Other warriors began to place heavy stones in the 'arm' (*palla*) of the *maghrabi*—for, except the arm of the *maghrabī*, nothing else could measure their strength. *Every warrior, as he raised the stone with his strength, made his hand a pillar for the hill that had no pillars.* The army of Solomon dealt strokes, like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba. On Monday, 11 Muharram, A. H. 703, the Solomon of the age, seated on his aerial throne, went into the fort, to which birds were unable to fly. The servant (Amīr *Khusrau*), who is the bird of this Solomon, was also with him. They cried, 'Hudhud! Hudhud!' repeatedly. But I would not return, for I feared Sultān's wrath in case he inquired, 'How is it I see not Hudhud, or is he one of the absentees?' And what would be my excuse for my absence if he asked, 'Bring to me a clear plea?' *If the Emperor says in his anger, 'I will chastise him,' how can the poor bird have strength*

¹ Meaning that though the assault sword in hand had failed, it still lay in 'Alāuddin's power to knock down the fort with his *maghrabīs*. But he refrained from the step owing to a spiritual message that the building would turn Muslim later. Its destruction, therefore, would have been highly impolitic. Further, the stones of the fort, being true Mussalmāns like all inanimate objects, kept close together as all Mussalmāns should. They knew the future but kept the secret to themselves, lest the Rājputs in disgust should pull down their treacherous fort.

*enough to bear it ?*¹ It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill. The Rāi, struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone-gate as fire springs out of stone ; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the Imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword. Wherever there is a brazen vessel, the Hindūs say, there lightning falls ; and the Rāi's face had turned as yellow as brass through fear. *Surely he would not have been safe from the lightning of the arrow and the sword, if he had not come to the door of the royal pavilion.*

² On the day the yellow faced Rāi sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the green swords, the great Emperor (May his prosperity continue !) was still crimson with rage. But when he saw the vegetarian Rāi trembling with fear, like the trampled and withered grass under the Imperial tent,—though the Rāi was a rebel, yet the breeze of royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon him. All the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels. He ordered that wherever a green Hindū was found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order, thirty thousand Hindūs were slain in one day. It seemed that the meadows of Khizrābād had grown men instead of grass. After the wind of Imperial wrath had uprooted all the *muqaddams*,³ he rid the land of its two colours, and helped the *raiyats*, the cultivators of the land, among whom no thorn raises its head, to grow. The roots and branches of this azure edifice were assigned to the grand tree of the grand Empire, Khizr Khān and given the name of 'Khizrābād'. The red canopy was placed over Khizr Khān's head, like the red heaven over the blue sky. He wore a robe of honour ornamented with jewels, as the sky is inlaid with stars. Two banners, black and green, were raised so high above his threshold that the Saturn and the Sun were struck with melancholy and bile. Further, his court was adorned by a baton (*dūrbāsh*) of two colours, each of which seemed a tongue from the solar lamp. Thus by scattering rubies and diamonds and roses, the Emperor made the

¹ Referring to a well known story of the *Qurān*, chap. xxvii, sec. 2. *Hudhud* is the bird that brings the news of Balquis, queen of Seba, to Solomon. The famous Padmini is apparently responsible for the allusions to Solomon's Seba.

² *Allusions to colours.*

³ The village headmen, who among the Rajputs were also officers of the army.

existence of his son prosperous and honourable. Then freed from the affairs of *Khizr Khān* and *Khizrābād*, *he took hold of his successful bridle and brought his stirrups from the green meadows (of Khizrābād) to Sirī*.¹ After the 10th of Muharram, the banner of the successor of the Prophet (May it rise higher and higher!), having wonderfully predominated over the head of the Hindūs, was ordered to be moved to the City of Islām, Delhī. He (the Emperor) made the killing of all Hindūs, who were out of the pale of Islām, such an obligation on his infidel-smiting sword (*Zulfiqār*), that should Muslim schismatics (*rāfizīs*) in these days even nominally demand their rights, the pure Sunnis would swear in the name this rightful Caliph of God.²

¹ *Allusions to the 10th of Muharram more pleasant than the 'Id*. 'Alāuddīn, Khusrau has said before, entered the fort of Chitor on the 11th of Muharram. Here it is stated that the army started for Delhī *after* the 10th of Muharram. There is really no inconsistency between the two statements, the 10th of Muharram having been introduced merely for the sake of allusions in the paragraph.

² 'Then he marched against Chitor in state and reduced it in a single expedition. There, also, was a Rāi with a large army, who, to speak the truth, was *the most exalted of all Hindū rulers*. But the Emperor did not waste much time, the fort was reduced in two months with such effect that Saturn became anxious about the safety of his own constellation. It was named *Khizrābād* and presented to *Khizr Khān*. Chitor, the paradise of the Hindūs, is a wonderful fort and has springs and meadows on every side' (*Dawal Rānī*).

'Sultān 'Alāuddīn came out of the city with his army and marched to Chitor, which he invested and captured in a short time and then returned to Delhī.' (*Barnī*)

The story set afloat by Colonel James Tod will not bear a critical examination. The following is Ferishta's account of the famous Padminī and the later history of Chitor —

'In the meantime Ratan Sen, Rāja of Chitor, had obtained his deliverance in a most unusual way. The details of the incident are these. After the Rāja had been in jail for some time, it came to the Emperor's ears that among the Rājās' women (*zanān*) there was one, Padminī—a woman of fine stature, with dark eyes and moon-like face, and adorned with all the accomplishments of a beauty. The Emperor sent the Rāja a message that his release would depend on his presenting her (to the Sultān). The Rāja consented and sent messengers to call his family, who had taken refuge in inaccessible hill-tracts, so that the Emperor's chosen may be picked out of them. But the Rāja's Rājput relatives were shocked at the message. They reproached him severely and wished to mix a little poison in some food and send it to him, he would take it and withdraw into the world of the dead without becoming notorious for his dishonour. The Rāja's daughter, however, who was famous for her intelligence among her tribe and kindred, disliked this proposal. 'I have thought of a plan,' she said, 'by which my father's life will be saved and yet his honour will not be lost. It is this. Despatch a large number of litters full of warriors with a body of horse and foot to Delhī and at the same time publish the news, that in obedience to the Emperor's order, the Rāja's women are

In the second conquest of Deogīr, its Rāi was captured and then set free. ¹ Rāi Rām Deo was a wild horse that had once before come within the halters of the Imperial officers and had been trained with the horse-breaker's whip, which disciplines a demon (*deo*). But then the Imperial horsemen had, with the greatest kindness, left him the desired meadows of his ancient Demon-land (*Deo-lakh*),² and like a well-fed horse he had forgotten the neck-breaking bridle and became headstrong and refractory. The Emperor of the celestial throne sent the *Malik Naib Bār-bek*³ (May God strengthen the whip of his authority!) to capture the runaway. With him were sent thirty thousand horse-breakers, scourge in hand, to train the haughty horses of the rebel army. They easily accomplished a march of three hundred *farsangs* without drawing their bridles and fell on that

coming to him. On reaching the suburbs, they are to enter the city at night and take the road to the Rāja's prison-house. On reaching there all the Rājputs are to draw their swords, overpower anyone who stands in their way and enter the prison, then seating my father on a swift-footed horse, they are to take the way to their homes with speed.' The counsellors approved of the plan and acted upon it. A body of devoted warriors sat in the litters and came to Delhī. When a part of the night had passed, they entered the city. 'We have brought Padminī and all the relatives of the Rāja,' they cried. On nearing the prison, the Rājputs drew their swords, rushed out of their litters and quickly cut the guards to pieces, then they broke the Rāja's chains, mounted him on a horse and struggled out of the city like a bird out of its cage. Joined, next, by a body of Rājputs, who had been waiting for them, they took the way to their homes. The Emperor's horsemen pursued them on their journey and overtook them at several places, many Rājputs were slain in the skirmishes, but the Rāja, somehow or other, with great difficulty reached the hills, where his family was living. Rescued from the Emperor's torturing claws through the fortunate plan of his accomplished daughter, the Rāja began to plunder the territory round the Chitor Fort. 'Alāuddīn, however, in accordance with the demands of political expediency, took the fort from *Khizr Khān* and bestowed it on the Rāja's sister's son, *Kariz Rāi*, who was in the Emperor's service and had given many proofs of his loyalty. In a short time *Khazir Rāi* strengthened himself wonderfully in the place, all the Rājputs were pleased with his government and joined him. He remained firmly loyal till the Emperor's death. Every year he came with presents from his land to kiss the threshold of the great conqueror, and was honoured with the gift of a horse and a special robe, after which he returned to his home. Whenever the Sultān's army went on an expedition, he appeared obediently with five thousand horse and ten thousand foot and exposed his life to many dangers.

¹ *Allusions to horses.*

² A play on the word *Deogīr*, which may mean the place of a demon or of a god.

³ The famous *Malik Kāfūr Hazārdinārī*. He held the office of *Malik Naib* or 'Regent of the State'.

army of horses who had turned away from their head-stalls. On Saturday, the 19th of Ramaḡan, 706 A.H. the (Imperial) horsemen were ordered to lead their horses to the charge and to moisten their swords, which were cold as lilies, with blood from necks of the *gabrs*. The rebel army fled and its scattered ranks were torn by further differences. The Rāi's son ran away on his horse. Most of the Hindū soldiers, sewn together by shots of arrows and spears, fled to the regions of the under-world. The troops that survived were cut into two parts by the dividing sword. One half of them in excessive fear turned away their horses from the battle-field and fled with the Rāi's son, for their souls were flying away from their bodies as an unruly horse flies off from the rider's hands. The rest capitulated and gave up their horses to the *Qandkash* of the prisoners. The Muslim horsemen being victorious, the *Malik-i Sahkash*¹ ordered that such booty as was fit for the troopers should be given back to them, while things only suitable for the Sublime Court—fleet-footed horses that flew over the plain, hill-like elephants (whose feet) wore away the rocks, treasures which surpassed all imagination—were reviewed, recorded and then entrusted to the officers of (the royal) horse and elephant stables and the treasury.

² As the Emperor had ordered the 'tongue' of the sword to take as much care as possible of the Rāi and his relatives in the battle-field, the great Commander restricted his efforts to catching the refractory Rām Deo and most of his men alive. But as their heads had wavered from loyalty, first the yoke of Imperial authority, which is supreme over all its rivals, was placed on their criminal necks. *Yes, he put (the yoke) so tightly that their jugular veins nearly snapped asunder.* But the New Messiah, i.e., the rightly guided Sultān, knew in his forgiving heart that fear of his punishing sword had taken out all life from their bodies; so he blew his spirit into them and brought them to life again. When all these people had regained their life by the blowing of the Sultān's 'breath' (favour) upon them, the Malik Naib brought them to the *Baitul Ma'mūr* of Jesus (Delhi), that they may see the life-giving holy spirit with their own eyes. *And the holy spirit gave them*

¹ Malik Kāfūr, so called because he had, till then, led three expeditions to the Deccan.

² *Allusions to the sword.*

the good news of an eternal existence. ¹ As none but benevolent images are formed in the mirror of the Second Alexander, therefore in spite of the signs of rebellion he had seen in Rām Deo, he took the Rāi under the ramparts of his protection and forgiveness and considered the inverted images, which appeared in the latter's rusty iron heart, the refraction of a worthless looking-glass. And he raised the Rāi to such a high dignity, that owing to the strength of his good fortune, his face was never for a single moment away from the mirror on the knees (of the Second Alexander). The Rāi was indeed fortunate when the Hindī sword of the Emperor became a breast-plate for the protection of his honour. An order (*sharf-nāma*) of Alexander also made this clear *When avenging fate ceased to hate the rebellion of the Hindū, the sword of the Alexander turned into a mirror before his eyes.* For full six months the fortunate Rāi remained in the rays of Imperial favour, as the crescent bends its back in the service of the Sun, day by day his honour and dignity increased, till in the course of time he attained to the orbit of his prosperity like the full moon. The Sun of the Empire honoured him with a blue canopy, and arrayed in all pomp, he moved to his own permanent constellation. *May God protect the Sultān, for he sustains his subjects, like the moon, with his benevolent rays.*²

Account of the conquest of Siwāna, which became Kharrābād, by the Imperial sword (May it be preserved for ever !). ³ When the lions of the august threshold had subdued all surrounding animals with their powerful strokes, so that for five hundred *farsangs* from the royal garden no tiger was left, which the lions of the Imperial army need trouble their claws about, the Imperial horseman became tired of the inactivity and wished to let his swift-footed horses wander at will for a few days in the hunting-field. On Wednesday, the 11th Muharram, 710 A.H. the standards of the army were moved (out of Delhī) for the campaign; and *they shook as the heart of a wild beast beats when there is a sheep in the forest.* ⁴ It is the custom of the world-conquerer not to return from any of his flights without reducing the fort and overpowering its possessor. He raised his wings to fly from Imperial Delhī

¹ *Allusions to mirrors*

² The authorities for the second conquest of Deogir are given in Appendix A along with the authorities on the other Deccan invasions.

³ *Allusions to wild beasts.*

⁴ *Allusions to birds.*

to Siwāna, a distance of one hundred *farsangs*, and besieged that fort which was an asylum of wild robbers. Upon the hill he saw a fort so high that the eagle could not reach its summit in ten flights. In it sat a *gabr*, named Satal Deo, like the *Simurgh*¹ on the Caucasus. Several thousand other *gabrs* sat on the top of the hill, like so many mountain-vultures, ready to have themselves torn. Like stone-eating birds they opened their mouths and waited till the *maghrabī*-stones began to fly to them from every side. Then some of them fell down like sparrows and their gizzards were broken into atoms, while others fluttered their wings and feet and gave up the ghost. The men of the army threw up their hats to catch these household birds and cut them to pieces. *How long could the game continue?* ²Towards the east the Sun of the Earth³ (May God elevate him to the constellation of the Lion⁴) sat on a throne with lion's feet and with tiger's eyes engraved over it. He ordered the swordsmen of the right wing to attack the southern side of the fort, while the lions of the left wing attacked it from the north. The *manjanīqs* on the west were entrusted to Malik Kamāluddīn Gurg (the wolf), *for he excelled in killing lions as much as the wolf excels in killing sheep.* The *maghrabīs* under the command of the 'wolf' made a cave in the hill with every shot. Finally, the head of the *pāshīb* reached the summit of the hill. By the order of the Emperor, the heroes of the army marched over the elephantine *pāshīb* and fell on the animals within the fort. But as the besieged were brave and haughty, they did not fly though their heads were cut into pieces. Those who attempted to fly were chased and caught. Some were sent to sleep like hares with strokes of the hunter's spear, others were ground down to flour under the *maghrabī* stones. The brave warriors of the (Imperial) army redoubled their shots at their enemies of *māsh*⁵ to grind down the latter between two stones for their bread at dinner, others they minced into meat and gave a feast to animals of all kinds. On that day of battle, from the appearance of the false dawn to the last flicker of light *the infidels were slain and streams of blood were made to flow.* ⁵Some Hindū birds, with many deceptions, fled away from the

¹ A fabulous bird of the *Shāhnāmah*

² *Allusions to wild beasts*

³ i.e. the Sultān.

⁴ A sort of vetch. Being enemies of the Emperor, they had to be soft as *māsh* and consequently the Imperial author proceeds to grind them between two *maghrabī* stones to provide the right kind of dinner-bread for an Imperial army

⁵ *Allusion to birds.*

battle with their leader ; before the Mussalmāns could catch them, they sprang up from their nests and tried to fly to Jālore. But the swift-footed servants of the Emperor got news of this and laid an ambush for them. Some they prevented from proceeding further ; others they slew, *till the wild, black crow of darkness assumed a white colour, i.e. the night had been succeeded by the morning*. On the morning on Tuesday, the 23rd Rabīul Awwal, the dead body of Satal Deo was brought before the lions of the Imperial threshold. People were struck with wonder at the grandeur of the *Gurg* (wolf) and the terrific strength of his arrow-shot.

The campaign against the wild animals being over, the intrepid Emperor ordered his lion-hearted slave, Kamāluddīn Gurg, to hunt the beasts of the forest, and was confident that if the clouds rained sharp arrows instead of drops of water, the 'wolf' would not raise up his shield over his head, for he had known many such showers. The just protector of his subjects entrusted the cattle to the 'wolf', in order that he may guard the young she-goats from the thorns of the territory. In a single hunting excursion such a famous victory befell the Emperor. He moved his standard towards the 'Platform of the Lions' ¹ (*chautra-i shīrān*) and the crescent banner was brought to the 'Constellation of the Lion (Delhi)'.²

¹ A plain or platform in Delhi

² Next the Emperor started with his army for Siwāna. There, too, was a strong-armed Rāi, named Satal Deo, whose 'stone' had broken the balance of other Rāis. He was powerful like Ahrman and all the *rawats* bowed to his authority. In his fort of stone, which was stronger than iron, there were many *gabrs* with hearts of steel. They had used their daggers and dispossessed other *rāis* of their blankets. The Imperial army had been investing the fort for five or six years without being able to injure half-a-brick of the edifice. But in a single move, the Emperor took his army to Siwāna like a deluge, and Satal Deo, in spite of his elephantine stature, was sent to sleep like an elephant through the vigilance of the Emperor' (*Dawal Rānī*).

'While the *Malik Nāib* was in the Deccan, the Emperor marched against the fort of Siwāna, which is to the south of Delhi. The army of Delhi had been besieging it for some years without achieving anything. 'Alāuddīn encircled the fort and reduced the besieged to straits. Satal Deo, the Rāja of Siwāna, humbly sent a silver effigy of himself with golden cords round its neck, a hundred elephants, and other valuable presents to the Emperor and asked for his pardon. The Emperor took this in good humour, but said that it would do no good till Satal Deo came in person. The Rāja perforce came out of the fort and paid his respects to the Emperor. 'Alāuddīn took possession of all that the fort contained, even the knives and needles. Such articles as were of use to the government were assigned to the royal factories, the rest were given over in

CHAPTER V

CAMPAIGN OF ARANGAL

Now I will describe the conquest of Tilang in such a way, that the feet of imagination will become lame in following my pen ¹After conquering many regions of the south, the brilliant judgment of the Sultān of East and West came to the conclusion that the swarms of Arangal must be trampled under the crescent horse-shoe of the army. On 25th Jamādiul Awwal, 709 A.H. the Nāusherwān of the age ordered his Buzurhmehr², accompanied by the red canopy of the 'Shadow of God' and an army like the stars and planets of the sky, to lead his lucky horses to the south. The ruby canopy of the Sun of Sultāns, like a cloud that becomes red as the sun shines upon it, began to move towards the sea of Ma'bar And as it commenced its

payment of their salaries to the troops and camp-followers The territory was divided among the *amirs* The empty fort was handed back to the Rāja

'About the same time the fort of Jālore was also conquered It is said that Kanir Deo, Rāja of Jālore, came to pay his homage to the Emperor at Delhī "There is no zamindar in Hindūstān to-day strong enough to challenge my troops," 'Alāuddīn declared on one occasion when Kanir Deo was present in the *majlis* "If I challenge and do not prevail," Kanir blurted out in his excessive ignorance and folly, "I will know how to die" The Emperor was annoyed at these words, but said nothing, and permitted Kanir Deo to return to his territory When some two or three months had passed, the Emperor determined to show his strength He ordered a slave girl, named Gul-i Bihisht, to march against Jālore and reduce it by force Gul-i Bihisht reached her destination, besieged the fort and displayed such wonderful courage that it never occurred to Kanir Deo to come out and offer battle The besieged were reduced to straits and the fort was about to fall when Gul-i Bihisht suddenly fell ill and died Her son, Shāhīn, took the army in hand and tried to overpower the besieged like his mother But Kanir Deo now saw that the Emperor's anger was inevitable and determined to make a desperate struggle He collected all his men, came out of the fort and gave battle As chance would have it, Shāhīn and Kanir Deo came face to face and Shāhīn was killed The other *amirs*, unable to continue the struggle, retreated a few stages. 'Alāuddīn was furious at the news and sent Kamāluddīn to lead the enterprise with a new army. Kamāluddīn showed great activity and courage. He reduced the fort, slew Kanir Deo with his sons and followers and seized his treasure When the message of victory reached Delhī, drums were beaten in joy.' (*Ferishta*)

Ferishta is mistaken in stating that Satal Deo was deprived of his wealth and allowed to live in his fort Khusrau definitely states in both his works that Satal Deo was slain Ferishta's mistake is due to the fact that he applies to Satal Deo the verses in which Khusrau has described the fate of the Rāi of Arangel

¹ *Allusions to stars and the sky.*

² Nāusherwān was the famous Persian Emperor in whose reign the Arabian Prophet was born, Buzurhmehr was his wise *wazīr*. The reference is to Alāuddīn and his '*nāib*' or 'regent', Malik Kāfūr.

flight at the Emperor's order, you would think it was a cloud, which Mecca-going winds were carrying towards the sea. Following this sky tied with ropes, the stars and planets of the army moved on, stage after stage; after nine days the fortunate star of the state (i.e. the *wazīr* of the Empire) arrived at a propitious moment at Mas'ūd-pūr. At this place, which is named after the son of the Emperor Mas'ūd, the foot of the standard remained stationery for two days. On Monday, the 6th Jamādīus Ṣānī, the crescent standard of the Empire, with the *maliks* and other 'stars', began to move rapidly forward. It was the first part of the month. Every night the moon enlarged its flame and raised it higher to help the night marches of the army. And though the sun, the 'Mécca' of the Hindūs, looked fiercely at the Mussalmāns, the feet of the army threw dust into its eye. *Yes, the eye that looks fiercely at such an army deserves no other antimony but black dust.* ¹ The path before them was extremely uneven, there were innumerable clefts in it, such that if the wind passed through them, it would fall as water falls into a well, or if (flames of) fire ran over them, they would bow down their heads to the earth. Owing to the rapidity of the streams, the ground at the foot of the hills had broken into many fissures. Every mound had a hundred thousand pointed thorns stuck to its head, the very idea of cutting such rocks and thorns made the hair of a pair of scissors stand upon its body like thorns. Through such a forest the obedient army passed, file after file, as if that perfect wilderness were the 'straight path'. After six days of marching, the army crossed five rivers—Jūn, Chambal, Kunwārī, Binās, Bhojī ²—at the fords and came to Sultānpūr, known as Irijpūr. *Here the army remained for four days.* ³ On the 19th Jamādīus Sānī, the Malik of the brilliant fortune⁴ mounted his horse, and the 'stars' of the Empire began to move.

¹ *Allusions to uneven roads*

² 'Binās may be read as Bambās. The Kunwārī is the Kuharī of the maps, and the Niyas (Binās) and Bashujī (Bhojī) must be the rivers now known as the Sind and Betwa'—(Elliot)

³ *Allusions to the stars*

⁴ i.e. the Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazāidīnārī. He was the Regent of the Empire and Commander-in-Chief of the invading army. The author finds every kind of laudatory title for him. He is often referred to as the '*Sah-Kash*', winner of three campaigns and sometimes simply as 'the Malik'. He is not to be confused with Sirājuddīn, generally known as Khwāja Hājī, who accompanied the expeditionary force as '*Ariz-i Mumālīk*' or Minister of War.

The rider was above, the horse was below, it looked as if 'stars' were riding on the backs of the planets. ¹ From farsang to farsang every stone on the way had its 'head' broken by the hoofs of the horses though nothing came out of its 'skull'. The movement of cloven-footed baggage bearers despoiled the earth of its bloom. The swift *paiks* (footmen) rent the hills with their iron feet, indeed, as these pedestrians hurried over the ground with firmness and impetuosity, *on one side the stones pierced into the soles of their feet, while on the other, their feet removed the skin from the skulls of the stones.*

² After thirteen days, on the first of Rajab, the army arrived at Khanda. In such a wilderness the month of God ³ came forward to welcome the Muslim army, and showed great kindness to the pious men, who had travelled under the hot sun for three months. Here a muster of the holy warriors was held for fourteen days. The angels sent their blessings. The prayer for victory came to the 'ears' of Rajab, and it hurried forward with the joyful news of future victories like those of the past.

On this auspicious occasion all the *maliks*, officers and leading men of the army gathered together before the red canopy, and kept their days alive by hearing prayers for the Jesus-like Emperor, moreover by keeping the 'fast of Mary' (*rūza-i-Maryam*), they collected provisions for their future life. There can be no doubt that an extremely pious assembly had gathered round the sky-shadowing canopy, even the saints (*awlad*) were present. They held fast to the 'strong cord', and no (differences) had any place amongst them. The august month of Rajab heard with solemnity and joy the prayers for the Emperor and for victory. ⁴Next morning, after the 'fast of Mary', the army again advanced like a raging deluge. Through rivers and torrents it passed. Every day it came to a new land, in every land it came across a new river in which the quadrupeds rolled like five-footed animals. Though all the rivers were crossed, yet the Narbada looked like a remnant of the primeval deluge. As the miraculous power of the Emperor-Sultān was with the officers of the kingdom, the deep rivers became dry as the dust of the army approached them, and the

¹ Allusions to quadrupeds.

² Allusions to prayers for victory

³ Rajab is known as the month of God while *Sha'ban*, the month which comes after it, is known as the month of the Prophet.

⁴ Allusions to rivers and streams,

Mussalmāns crossed them with ease Eight days after crossing the Narbada, the army reached Nilkanth. When these wide rivers make a way for the Imperial army to cross, *there would be nothing wonderful if it also forded through the Nile of Egypt and the Tigris of Baghdad.*

¹As Nilkanth was on the border of Deogir, and the territories of the Rāi Rāyān, Ram Deo, had now been reached, the *wazīr*, acting according to the Emperor's orders, protected the country from being plundered by the troops, who were as innumerable as ants and locusts No one dared touch the door or the wall of a building or take anything from the barns or fields of the peasant. *The stores of the ants did not become the food of the locusts* ² The drums, which sounded to march, were detained here for two days in order to make inquiries about the stages in advance. On Wednesday, the 26th Rajab, the movement of the army again shook the bowels of the earth, and the ground began to rise up and go down like the belly of a *Khatkhāna-blower* Trampling the earth under their feet and splitting stones with force, the army defiled through such a dangerous path. In sixteen days the difficult road to Tilang was traversed. The ground was overlaid with hard rocks, which the Hindūs had often (vainly) attempted to cross; yet these heavy rocks flew away like dust at the feet of the quadrupeds of the Muslim army. The eye of the sky gazed in wonder; *for the road went up and down like the subile wit of a clever cheat and was at the same time as long as a miser's greed And in attempting to describe its hills and caverns, the intelligence of the panegyrist would bow its head in wonder.* ³The path was narrower than a guitar string and darker than a beauty's locks. At times it was like a hole in a reed. when the wind attempted to pass through it, it came out reverberating. The river-banks were so steep that it would have been difficult for a duck, or even an eagle, to cross them. Pretending that they knew the way, nimble bodied men attempted to ascend the heights on either side; but their feet slipped all of a sudden; their attempts to catch hold of the steep sides were ineffectual; and rubbing their hands together, they fell down with innumerable wounds. The neighing horses, that danced in the air, would fall down in a moment owing to one false step. *Yes! Many a dancing horse flew*

¹ Allusions to the story of Solomon

² Allusions to hills and desert.

³ Allusions to musical instruments.

swift as the wind, but once its foot slipped down the hillside, it tumbled and fell. ¹Furthermore, as the dark faced cloud brought forth its unfinished pearls to worry the people of the army, the wind struck it hard on the neck, and all its water was shed. Whenever the forked lightning laughed at the slipping feet of the army, the thunder roared so loudly at the latter that it immediately disappeared. You would have thought that the cloud was envious of the ocean like palm of the Emperor's hand, but being powerless to do anything at the Imperial Court, sought consolation by attacking the army. The lightning, on the other hand had been struck with fire by the Imperial sword; but unable to display its impudence in the Emperor's presence had gone thither to reveal its burning heart. ²Though the holy warriors met many obstacles on this journey, yet they had girded their loins sincerely for the sake of Allah alone, and had their eyes on that final reward, the hope of which sustains the human heart. Consequently, they did not regard their sufferings as serious. In a thousand ways the assistance of Heaven, too, was with them. Good fortune accompanied young and old over hills and valleys, rocks and thorns, desert and forest, *even as victory accompanies the Muslim standard.*

³After passing with determination and rapidity through those hills and plains, they arrived at a *Doab* within the borders of Basi-rāgarh⁴. It was enclosed by the two rivers, Yashar and Būjī⁵. A diamond mine was said to exist there. But as the power of Imperial sword, through the strength of which all the treasures of the *raīs* have come into the hands of Muslim soldiers, had given strength to the officers of the state, they did not care to take handfuls of earth from the pits, for it is easier for powerful swordsmen *to seize jewels with the sword than to dig them out of the earth with the spade.* ⁶About this time the Malik, with the impetuosity of a dragon, left the difficulties of the winding path, and with some dare-devil horsemen, marched against the fort of Sarbar, which belonged to the kingdom of Tilang. The saddles were still stinging like scorpions on the backs of the horses, when he ordered the warriors to make a circle round the fort. The

¹ *Allusions to thunder, lightning and rain.*

² *Allusions to war*

³ *Allusions to the sword*

⁴ Elliot says Bijānagar.

⁵ A *doab* is a piece of land between two rivers. Yashar may be read as Bish-nahr or Yasnahr. Būjī is Barujī in Elliot's manuscript.

⁶ *Allusions to creeping creatures.*

archers shot their arrows from outside. 'Strike!' 'Strike!' cried the Hindūs from within. The *rāwats* of the Rāi were so bitten by the poisoned arrows, that they wished to take refuge in the holes of ants for protection, and like thousand-footed animals crept into every corner. The arrows had made snake-holes in the bodies of many and their lives were in danger. The movement of crocodile-like warriors shook the earth to the back of the Fish.¹ ²When the swift arrows, with fiery flames at the end of their wood-pieces, began to fly forward to burn the houses of the infidels, their faces grew dark at the approach of this wall of fire. In the excess of their folly, they drew the fire on o themselves, i.e. all of them with their wives and children threw themselves into fire and went to hell. For fire is the reward of the enemies of Allāh! The exterior of the fort became bright owing to this illumination of the pit of hell. The bodies of the victors were like flints in armours of steel, they cast away their armours and jumped up from the rocks as a spark flies out of flint. At this moment the breeze of victory suddenly blew fast, and the flames inside the fort rose higher still. The impetuous soldiers of the Muslim army drew their swords like so many tongues of fire, climbed up the fort, and falling on the half-burnt mass, put to death with their Hind-steel those whom fire had spared. Matters having come to this, the remaining *muqaddams* of the fort also wished to sacrifice themselves in the same element. At this instant, the '*Arz-i Mumalik*, Širājud-dīn, saw that it was time to light the lamp of victory. Anānīr, the brother of the *muqaddam* of the fort, had hidden himself in the cultivated fields of that land. The '*Arz-i Mumalik* ordered him to be captured and given a severe chastisement. At first, allured with soft words, he was kept for being beheaded and burnt, but, next, this low-burning lamp of the Hindūs (i.e. Anānīr) was given a tongue (to ask) for his life, so that before morning the flame of insurrection might subside³. As the smoke of destruction rose

¹ On which the cow stands holding the earth on her horns.

² *Allusions to fire*

³ i. e. after being scolded (oiled) with the tongue and threatened with death, Anānīr had the fort restored to him on promise of obedience, so that 'the flame of insurrection might subside'. It was not a part of Alāuddīn's programme to establish his government over the conquered territory and, consequently, the legitimate successor of the late *muqaddam* had to be found, so that the required promise of obedience may be taken from him.

from this fort to the sky, some refugees from the burning edifice, with their eyes full of water, fled to Rāi (Laddar Deo), and like moist wood, with weepings and wailings, gave vent to the inner sorrow of their hearts. The *Rāi*, who possessed elephants and troops, was also overcome by fear but he did not think it advisable to advertise it. So he bewailed his fate for a while and thus soothed his inner sadness *But when the fire of misfortunes is lit, tears from the eyes burn in it like oil.*

¹On Saturday, the 10th of *Sha'bān*, they marched from here determined to plant the tree of virtue in the land of Tilang and to uproot with the greatest force the tree of vice, that had fixed its roots there. On the 16th *Sha'bān* the true believers arrived at the village of Kūnarbal. While the pious standard was being planted, the *Malik Nāib*, commander of the army of heaven, ordered a thousand swift horsemen—and they were such that the crow of victory did not build its nest except on their bows!—to go forward and capture a few infidels, though the daggers of the latter may be as numerous as the leaves of a willow, in order to make inquiries from them about the condition of the country. When this force reached the gardens of Arangal, the iron of their horse-shoes turned green from walking over the grass. Two famous officers with forty mounted horsemen went forward and reached the summit of the Anamkanda Hill, from where they could see all the suburbs and gardens of Arangal.² On looking carefully from the hill, four swift Hindū horsemen came into sight. The Musalamāns drew their bows and ran after them. They succeeded in knocking down one of the four with a four-feathered arrow and sent him to the Commander-in-Chief. The latter took it as a good omen. 'Thus with my sword', he said, 'will I peel away the skin from the heads of such Hindūs as rebels'.

³When the army reached Arangal, the red canopy rubbed its head with the clouds. At midday the *Malik Nāib*, accompanied by a few men, went to reconnoitre the fort (of Arangal). He saw a fort, the like of which is not to be found on the face of the earth.

⁴Its wall, though of mud, was so hard that a spear of steel could make no impression upon it; if a *maghrabi*-stone were to strike it, it

¹ Allusions to trees and branches

³ Allusions to sun and cloud.

² Allusions to instruments of war.

⁴ Allusions to forts.

would rebound like a nut thrown by a child. Its earthen towers were stronger than Taurus, and the Orion only came up to its waist. Nevertheless, the standards of infidelity trembled on the top of all the towers in expectation of their downfall, while the *'iradas* of Hindūs wept from fear of being broken. The warlike *rawats*, with all their heavy stones, had thrown themselves into the sling of destruction, some of them were collecting stones for the *munjanigs*, others, who had no stones, were busy in throwing bricks and javelins. That day the victorious *Malik* carefully selected the ground for the army-camp and returned. *Next morning he intended to carry the battle forward, and in good news, to throw stones at the heads of the Hindūs.* ¹When morning dawned and the sun rose, the sky-towering standard of the eastern Empire was raised up and brought to Anamkanda. Once more the great *Malik* went round the fort to re-examine the ground for the army-camp. *The tents were to be pitched side by side, as the Aquarius lies in the neighbourhood of the Pisces*

²It was the 15th of *Sha'bān*, when in the middle of the month of the Prophet, the ruby canopy was fixed so high that it over-topped the Ramazān crescent. On that night *Khwāja Nasīrul Mulk Sirajuddoulah* (May God illuminate the nights of his life ¹) personally arranged the troops with a lighted lamp. Every division was sent to its appointed place, in order to surround the fort and to protect the besiegers from the shots of the besieged *and from whatever compounds of air and fire the latter might bring forth to set fire to the external wall of bronze.* ³When the august canopy had been fixed a *mil* from the gate of Arangal, the tents around the fort were pitched together so closely that the 'head' of a needle could not go between them. Inside the fort the Hindūs slept at ease, like reclining yard-measures; outside the watchmen of the Imperial army were wide awake. Every *tumān* was assigned one thousand two hundred yards of land; the total circumference of the fort, as enclosed by the tents, was twelve thousand five-hundred and forty-six yards.⁴ *The land of infidelity was made to look like a cloth market owing to the innumerable tents*

¹ *Allusions to stars and sky*

² *Allusions to Sha'bān and Barāt*

³ *Allusions to the army.*

⁴ A *tumān* is a body of ten thousand men. According to this calculation the besieging army was over a hundred thousand,

¹The victorious army drew into ranks like the teeth of a saw and the heart of the Hindūs was cut into two. Every soldier was ordered to erect a *Kath-garh* (wooden defence) behind his tent. Immediately all hatchets became busy and every soldier was transformed into Ishāq, the wood-cutter. Trees that had never been molested by the stones of those who wished to eat their fruits, were now felled with iron axes in spite of their groans ; and the Hindūs, who worship trees, were unable to come to the rescue of their gods in their need. Every accursed tree in that land of infidelity was cut down to its roots. Clever carpenters sharpened their instruments on the tree-trunks and soon cut them into proper shape with their axes. Finally, a wooden fence was built round the army. It was so strong, that if fire had rained from the sky, *the wooden fort would have been as safe from fire as Noah's ark was from water*

² When the Hindū-faced evening had made a night-attack on the sun and sleep had closed the portals of the eyes and besieged the fort of the pupil³, the watchmen, with their shields on their backs and their drawn swords in their hands, drew into a double row to keep guard over the Imperial camp and with the strokes of their eyelashes drove sleep out of their eyes. Near midnight, when the meteors had begun to shoot towards the besieged demons and the moon had brought forth its full shield, a thousand swift Hindū horsemen from the troops of Bānik Deo, the *muqaddam* of that country, made a night-attack on the Muslim army with demonish cries and the Hindī sword *God forbid that such an army should fear such an attack* ⁴As a matter of fact, the crocodiles of the besieging army who had themselves been waiting in an ambush for this armoured fish caught the latter with their Hindī swords like fish in a net. From fear of the enemy's maces and clubs, the Hindūs drew their heads into their armours like tortoises. The heads of the *rāwats* rolled like crocodile-eggs on the fish-backed earth. In an instant many of these aquatic creatures had been drowned in a deluge of their own blood and lay like slaughtered fish. Those wounded by spears and arrows cried as frogs cry when caught by snakes. Others who tried to run away received wounds on

¹ Allusions to carpentry

² Allusions to the instruments of war.

³ i.e., when the night was far advanced.

⁴ Allusions to water animals.

their backs, which like cancer-sores opened a door for the entry of death. ¹Finally, most of the Hindūs were either killed, overpowered or driven away. Some of them cut off their horse-belts in order to fly more quickly, but the anvil-piercing holy warriors came out of their iron lines and pursued them, determined to strike the Hindī sword at infidel hearts. Every Hindu found in the neighbourhood was either slain with the Hindī sword and the Tatār-arrow or sent as a prisoner to the army.

Now some of the prisoners happened to declare that in the town of Dahdūm, six *farsangs* from Tilang, three elephants, such as could tear up the back of a hill with their iron teeth, had been secretly hidden. Immediately, at the order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial army, three thousand brave horsemen, led by Qarā Beg *Maisarah*, galloped away in that direction. But when they reached the said fort, the elephants had been carried further still and inevitably a further distance had to be traversed. Thanks to the unlimited good fortune of the Emperor, all the three elephants fell into the hands of his officers. The elephants, on their part, were busily pulling their chains in their anxiety to reach the Imperial Court. When they were brought to the army camp, the war-like *Malik* considered the acquisition of these three iron forts a great achievement and kept them, along with the other elephants, for the Imperial stables. *Indeed, he had seen all this in the mirror of his sword and without the help of any conjurer or fortune-teller.*

²As the Commander-in-Chief of the army, who was also the *Imperial Chamberlain*, was very fond of polo (*chaugān*), he ordered his enthusiastic men to go on playing the game against the *muqaddams* of Laddar Deo, day after day. He motioned to them with his brow, that wheresoever they came across a desperate *rāwat*, they were to take his head for a 'ball' and bring it to their camp. Having received this wide permission, the sportive horsemen considered it a great fun to separate the heads from the bodies of a very large number. Every horseman in the army whipped his animal and in several matches brought away the 'balls' of those desperate Hindū warriors; for you might consider their blood-smeared heads as coloured balls brought to the presence of the *chaugān-loving Malik*. Further,

¹ Allusions to iron instruments.

² Allusions to 'Mir Hājib' and 'chaugān'.

the *Malik* ordered stone-balls for the *maghrabis* to be collected all round the fort; so that with the strokes of the balls the fort may be won and reduced to dust in another match. ¹As the external *munjanīqs* drew their strength from the virtuous tree of faith, they did great damage to the infidel edifice, but the inner '*irādas*, being constructed from the tree of infidelity, naturally yielded before the impetuosity of Muslim stones. The stones of the Mussalmāns all flew high, owing to the power of 'the strong cable,' and hit the mark, while the balls of the Hindūs were shot feebly as from a Brahman's thread, and consequently went wrong.

²When the *sabats* and *gargajes* were completed and rose so high that the garrison of the fort was placed suddenly on a lower elevation, the fort ditch began to talk of its great depth to the Muslim army. Though the latter looked sternly at it and took measure of its depth, it would not allow the army to cross; and opening wide its two lips, spoke of the security of the fort. Ultimately, the Mussalmans threw mud into its mouth, and filled it in so completely that its two lips were joined together. Of this there could be no doubt. Further, one wing of the fort-wall, for about the length of a hundred hands, was broken so thoroughly by the stroke of large stones, that it could not rise high enough to embrace the Hindūs below the arm-pits. On the other side, also, the havoc wrought by the *maghrabi* stones had created new doors in the gate-wall. All these doors of victory which Divine assistance had opened for the Imperial officers. *Yes every crack in the enemy's wall is a door of victory for the friend.* ³When owing to the continuous piling up of the earth, a mound had risen from the bottom of the ditch to the waist of the fort, and the mud wall of the fort had become a heap of dust from the strokes of the stone-balls, they desired to construct a *pashib* so wide that files of hundred men abreast may ascend over it to the fort. But the construction of the *pashib* would have taken a few days; and Victory, in her haste, was dancing on the sword's point. The rightly guided *Wazir* called the *Maliks* to a council of discussion, and their correct judgment was to the effect, 'that before the construction of the *pashib*, a hand-to-hand struggle should be attempted, and as Victory is on our side, may be she will come running.'

¹ Allusions to *Munjanīq*.

² Allusions to structures for reducing forts.

³ Allusions to sieges

¹ The night of Tuesday, the 11th Ramazān, was so bright that its shining moon imparted it the brilliance of *Lailatul Qadr*.² The *tarāwih* prayers asked for heavenly help with a loud voice. The blessing of the fasting day had collected the rewards of the victors, and Fortune used the lock of the night as her ladder for descending from heaven to earth. *The Pleiades had lifted their hand in prayer that key of victory may fall into them*.³ The exalted *Wazir* ordered high ladders and all other requisites to be constructed in every division (*khail*) in the course of the night, whenever the drum beat to action, everyone was to come out of his entrenchment and carry the ladders to the fort *so that the work of victory might be exalted step by step*. When in the morning the sun in Gemini had clothed the sky with a waist-band of light, the holy warriors ran towards water and took off their socks in order to put on their armour. ⁴After performing their ablution—and every drop of ablution-water is a sharp arrow for Satan's heart, for ablution is a Mussalmān's armour!⁵—they were ready for prayer and turned their faces towards God. The *Sah-kash* also bowed in the obligatory prayer, and raised his hands to ask Heaven for victory and success. He begged the 'King of *Khaibar*'⁵ to plead before God, from whom all good originates, for the reduction of the fort, and instantly the keys of victory fell into his hands from the Unseen Gate. Some waiting was, however, still necessary, for everything has its appointed time.

⁶ When the golden shield of the sun had risen a spear high, the *Malik Naib* ordered his men to begin the attack *and the blood of the 'gabrs' was shed in the worthless fort even as the Censor of morals throws away carnation-coloured wine*. The beat of the⁶ leathern drum—and the thunder declares His glory with His praise—resounded through the vault of the sky. The trumpets of the holy warriors raised their voices on every side. 'Here! I am

¹ Allusions to the month of Ramazān

² Or the 'grand night', being the night on which the *Quran* was first revealed.

³ Allusions to ladders.

⁴ i.e. to perform their ablution, which, as stated by the following sentence, is the Mussalmān's armour. The army first said its morning prayer, the attack did not commence till the sun was 'a spear high.'

⁵ The Fourth Caliph, Hazrat 'Alī, who conquered the forts of *Khaibar* in Arabia.

⁶ Allusions to attack on the fort

for you,' cried Victory as she came running. Bold men with scaling ropes began to jump up to the fort-wall like lions in the forest. The arrows fell thick like showers of the rainy season and pierced the breast of the Hindūs even as rain drops get into the mothers-of-pearl. Powerful diggers, with the greatest noise, sat down to open a way into the fort. One half of the earthen fort flew up like dust to the sky; the other half threw itself down to seek protection from the ground. The excellent bow of the Turks rubbed its sides with the sky and claimed to be the bow of Rustam, while their arrows, all flying together, looked like the cloud of Bahman. Others had applied their spades to the fort-wall, you would have thought they were 'arguing away' the foundations of the edifice with their eloquent tongues. Some had thrust their sword-points into the solidified earth as if determined to carve fine figures out of it. The wooden ladders raised their feet to the highest elevation from the greatest depth for the sake of Islām, and the earthen fort threw the Hindūs down from its height in order to degrade infidelity. The *maghrībīs* outside exchanged shots with the '*irādas* inside the fort, it seemed as if young men and veiled brides were throwing loving stones at each other; for either side exercised the greatest attraction, and with unclosing eyes marked the thousand tricks of the other. If one ball was discharged from outside, it fell as two balls within, but if two balls were discharged from within, no misfortune befell the proclaimers of the one God. Praise be to God for his exaltation of the Muslim faith! There can be no doubt that stones are worshipped by the *gabrs*, but as they were unable to give their worshippers any assistance, the *gabrs* threw them up to the sky and then down to the earth. *And it was proper that the stones should be struck against the ground.* Next some footmen of the Muslim army climbed with their hand-nails over the earthen fort, and having found the moon in the Taurus, they permanently purchased the land and buildings of that territory with the Alāi coin.¹ Though the fort had been so excellently constructed, that there was nothing on its walls that one could catch hold of or lay one's finger on, yet the besiegers clung to it with the edges of their nails; and even as a wise man overcomes a fool, they

¹ Meaning, as the following sentences suggest, that the footmen took possession of one wing of the fort and retained it in spite of all counter-attacks.

boldly climbed to the summit of the fort. And God enabled them to bring one wing of the fort into their strong and powerful hands. *That night they established themselves there in force, and broke the legs of those who wanted to dislodge them*

On Sunday, the 13th Ramazān—Sunday, being a day dedicated to the Sun—the sun had so illuminated the night, that it merged insensibly into the day, thus giving the holy warriors a greater time for action. As the moon withdrew its shield beyond the western horizon, the men of the army drew their swords and attacked the fort from the east. The drummers awakened the sleeping war-drum which leapt up from its sleep at their beats; and it seemed that the four elements of the sphere would dissolve into chaos at its noise. The war cries of the warriors, the sounds of 'Huzza! Huz!' and 'Khuzza! Khuz!' resounded through the world.¹ The assistance sent from the smoky sky for the Muslim army descended through the ethereal sphere, and bringing fire with it from there, fell on the *gabr's* places of refuge. And in its liberality with human life, the fire turned these stingy people into enormous heaps of ashes. When the tongues of fire had descended low, the standard of the Sultanate rose on the fort. All praises are for Allah who raised it so high!

²By Wednesday, a day dedicated to Mercury (Archer), the Emperor's fierce troops had as easily entered the mud fort as a warrior's arrow breaks through and upsets a bubble. The inner fort, which resembled the (Arabian) Khaibar, was invested. No Hindū was allowed to cross the line of the besiegers just as dogs had not been allowed to come out of Khaibar (by the Mussalmāns), if a Hindū had attempted to do so, his heart would have been cut open by the arrow that could pierce through seven plates of steel. When the Alexandrian lines had surrounded the inner fort by a wall of iron, they saw a building, the stones of which rose up to the sky; and even the sky had raised its mirror higher (lest it might break from contact) with the rocky towers. Its stones were joined so carefully together that the head of a needle could not get in between them; its walls were so smooth that a fly attempting to sit on them would have slipped down. Its stones and plaster had been welded so excellently together that the tongue of the

¹ 'An early eastern use of Huzza! huzza! The same exclamations occur in the *Miftāhul Futūh*'—(Elliot.)

² Allusion to instruments of war

spade was unable separate them. In addition to this, there was such a wonderful charm in its walls and buildings that no *maghrabī* had the heart to do them any wrong. You might say that the fort was a stiff spear, which the ant could not climb, or else that it was a flute, in which the wind lost itself as in a wooden pipe. Its towers stood upright in the air and ascended to the moon, its foundations sank deep in the earth, down to the Fish. The watchman on its towers bathed his head with the clouds, the digger at its foundations washed his feet with water.

¹ When the multitudinous army came to the lip of the ditch, they found its mouth full of water, if anyone talked to it about crossing to the other side, it tried to drag him down to the bottom. The swordsmen of the army, however, would not float any boat on the ditch but determined to swim through it together. They practised on the face of the water every rule of mensuration they knew, and, in a moment, crossed the ditch, file after file, more easily than a boat would have done. They determined to sum up all their resolution and to bore holes into the stomach (of the fort) as in a reed. With the passion of Farhād, they wished to knock down the edifice so completely that it may not be propped up by a thousand columns and to pull down its towers with such force that the 'heads' of the towers would come down while their 'feet' went up. In short, they resolved to seize the fort so effectively from the Hindūs that even its dust might not be left in the latter's hands. *Yes, Yes, Even the dust is reluctant to remain with the infidel.* ² Rāi Laddar Deo sat inside the fort like a snake over buried treasure and called his people around him. His elephants pulled their chains in pride of the gold they bore; but the Rāi was thinking of his war with the golden scorpions and watery pearls trickled down his inner eye at the thought (of losing his enormous treasures). He wished to look into the future, but his eyes refused to obey him. He had been brave and courageous in the siege; yet whenever he reflected on the situation in which he was placed, his stout heart began to palpitate; and if he wished to remove the heaviness of his heart by saying farewell to all his treasures, his heart struck against his breast, and told him that it could not, at least,

¹ *Allusions to fort and ditch.*

² *Allusions to treasures* Buried treasures, it is believed, are guarded by snakes

separate itself from so much gold as remains sticking to a black touch-stone.¹ He had fastened his hopes on being able to place before the invaders an obstacle, which would cause them to stumble and retrace their steps. But the Emperor's prestige overawed him ; all his courage melted away and he was left a broken man. In his helplessness, he first collected in heaps the treasure he had buried under stones more heavy than can be dragged from the hills, in order to provide for his ransom. Next he constructed a golden image of himself, and in acknowledgment of having become a tribute-payer, he placed a golden chain round its neck and sent it through ambassadors, whose honest word was more unchanging than the purest gold, to the Commander of the Imperial army.

'The opposition of the rice-made Hindū,' ran the Rāi's petition, 'to the iron bodies of the Mussalmāns is like a silver-faced beauty challenging Rustam to battle. This being the case the servant, Laddar Deo, has been forced to lay aside his own bronze body in a corner. Fear of the Emperor's Hindī sword has turned me pale, or, rather, my body of stone has become golden in the rays of the Imperial sun. Consequently, I have constructed an exact image of myself, which is being sent to promise tribute and obedience at the review. I hope the Imperial officers will intercede for me at the Court, and inform the Emperor that fear of him has rendered the broken body of this servant even more lifeless than this golden statue, and that I will only feel signs of life in myself on the day when the wind of Imperial favour blows over my dead body.

'If the good-will of the officers of the world-protecting Court is to be won by treasure and valuables, I have as much gold with me as will suffice to gild all the mountains of Hind. All this immense gold belongs to the Emperor and I will not turn my face to it again. But if the world-adorning Imperial will, as a favour to the weak, gives back a few gold coins to this unfortunate Hindū, it will exalt him (Laddar Deo) to a dignity superior to that of all other Rāis. For the desire of gold is found in every heart. It is only the mirror (heart) of the Second Alexander that can turn its back towards this metal, for his sword has absorbed the gold of the whole world. Concerning his sword only can the proverb, that 'magnet draws iron and iron draws

¹ The Rāi desired to retain at least a part of his treasure.

gold', be true. And if the Emperor really wants the gold possessed by a poor man like me, so much the better! For what principality is more fortunate than the one which draws the Emperor's heart towards itself. I will keep none of this gold-dust for myself, for my heart has been broken by the fear of Emperor's infidel slaying sword. *And every one knows, that when an earthen vessel breaks, you cannot repair it with gold-dust.* ¹If precious stones, gems and pearls² are demanded, I have a stock of them such as the eyes of the mountains have not seen and the ears of the fish have not heard of. All these will be scattered on the path of the Imperial officers *For if I do not scatter rubies on the road, over which the Emperor's army comes advancing through hill and plain, my blood will be soon shed there.*

³ 'Of horses, too, I have twenty thousand, being of the mountain and foreign (*bahrī*) breed ⁴ The foreign horse flies like wind on the surface of water, without even its feet becoming wet. And when the mountain-horse steps on a hill, the hill trembles like a Hindī sword ⁵ All these horses will be handed over, along with the slaves, to the royal stables. Nevertheless, in the extremity of shame, 'the bride of self-possession' is slipping away from my hands, and I feel like using my shame as a horse and flying away upon it *For it is improper for me to display my potsherds and amber in the company of the noble.* ⁶ There are also a hundred elephants, who will go to the Imperial Court with the greatest pleasure. They are the mad elephants of Ma'bar, not the vegetarian elephants of Bengal. Most of them are new born and young, and are growing their teeth. They have heard of the elephant-slaying warriors of the Imperial army and, their ears have been opened; they draw a deed on the ground with their trunks to the effect that henceforth they will never turn their faces towards the Ka'ba of Islām except in worship. They are coming with

¹ *Allusions to precious stones*

² Or, literally, 'the nephews of showers, the sisters of raindrops, the orphans of pearls and the livers of mines'

³ *Allusions to stables*

⁴ The text says Kohī (mountain-horse or country-breed) and *bahrī* (sea-horse or imported breed) As the latter variety was Arabian, its main feature was fleetness of foot

⁵ Various countries in medieval days were famous for different weapons; Persia for its bows, Tartary for its lance and India for its sword. Reference to the Indian or Hindī sword is often found in Persian literature.

⁶ *Allusions to elephants.*

their feet like pillars and their heads like the dome of the gate of obedience—so that, if the Imperial officers choose to be angry at them, the elephants will submit to it with the ‘skirts’ of their ears; and if order for the punishment of rebels is given, the elephants will execute it with their teeth. God has given them a forehead peculiarly fitted to render obedience at the Imperial Court. *They are now scattering dust over their heads before the Hindū's door, but in the Emperor's presence their foreheads will have the vermilion colour of good fortune.*

¹ ‘In short, the servant, Laddar Deo, places all the treasures, elephants and horses he possesses in one scale of the balance and his life in the other. The servants of the Emperor can choose whichever they like. It is certain that life and property have the same weight as honour. If my wealth is taken and my life is left to me, I will be broken by the heavy anxiety of earning a livelihood, if my life is taken, the scale holding my wealth will sink to the ground. In either case the balance will be upset. This being the case, I consider myself a broken stirrup, it is for the just Emperor to set the balance right. If means of livelihood are left to me, I will collect all my ‘leaves’ and hand them over to the Emperor's officers at his command. If the forgiving Emperor (May the measure of his good deeds be heavy!) allows me to retain such wealth as is proportioned to my weightless life, after all I hold the stout heart of a Rāi and not the balance of a grocer. I will take the brave iron spear, which befits my hand, and measure myself against other Rāis. I will seize treasures from them, and send to the Emperor such tribute as is fixed on me. *And if there is the slightest deficit in the tribute, I will send my own life as a make-weight.*’ ²

³ When the messengers of the Rāi came before the red canopy, the honoured harbinger of victory and triumph, they rubbed their yellow

¹ *Allusions to weights and balances*

² A curious quibble of which it is difficult to find the exact significance. Laddar Deo seems to have meant that if either his life or the whole of his property was taken away, the balance would be upset. If they took away his life, ‘the scale holding my wealth would sink to the ground’—perhaps a veiled threat that in the last extremity he would subject his jewels to the hammer. What he desired was that the victor should leave him some part of his wealth, and take instead of it a portion of his prestige by subjecting him to a yearly tribute. When equals are taken from equals the remainders are equal; and Laddar Deo, left with a part of his prestige and a part of his wealth, would straight-away attack the other Rāis and pay the Imperial tribute out of their pockets.

³ *Allusions to jewels and treasures.*

faces on the¹ earth till the ground itself acquired their colour : next they drew out their tongues in eloquent Hindī, more sharp than the Hindī sword, and delivered the message of the Rāi. The idol-breaking *Malik* comprehended the gilding of the Hindūs and paid no regard to their glozing speech. He would not even look at the golden statue, which he wished to throw back at their faces. But he communicated to the army the command of the Second Alexander, which is more firm than seven walls of steel and the garden of *Shaddād*.¹ The Imperial officers swore by the head of *Khizr Khān*, the emerald in the ring of the kingdom, that they would accept the gold and raise the siege. As the mountain-rending troops were unable to violate the oath, and the coin of forgiveness² had also been repeatedly issued from the Imperial Court, the decision arrived at was to the effect that they would subject the Rāi to a tribute, but as a charitable offering for the life of the forgiving Emperor, they would spare his life in exchange for the golden statue. They would take away and deliver at the Court all animals, vegetables and minerals which the Rāi's territory contained ; and if there was the slightest deficit in handing over the treasures agreed upon, they would render the Rāi as lifeless as the golden image and reduce the fort to a heap of ashes like a goldsmith's forge. On this condition, the fort-conquering *Malik* stretched forth his right hand, placed his sword in its scabbard, and struck his open hand, by way of admonition, so forcibly on the backs of the ambassadors that they bent under the blow. Though the agreement was permanent and not provisional, yet the poor ambassadors trembled like quicksilver, and thus trembling and impatient, they hurried back to the fort. Their influence fell on the Rāi and he too began to shake like a gold-leaf. The ambassadors ornamented their speech, but the Rāi could not regain his stability, and wished to turn into mercury and run away. With some difficulty they ran this quicksilver into a vessel, and through soft speech put a little wax on its mouth². *Next they busied themselves with alchemy in order to pay the gold they had promised.*

¹ Both *Ferīhta* and *Barnī* state that 'Alāuddīn had ordered the *Malik Nāib* not to take any extreme measures against *Laddar Deo* and to remain content with seizing his treasures.

² The soft words of the ambassadors brought self-possession to the Rāi as closing the mouth of a vessel brings 'self-possession' to the mercury it contains.

¹ The Rāi's council spent the night in collecting their precious stones and valuables in order to present them next morning to the Imperial officers. When next day the sun showed its face through the enamelled fort, the ambassadors proved their promises to be as truthful as the dawn. With their elephants, treasures and horses, they arrived before the red canopy which is the roof of the eastern sun. The *Malik* summoned the leaders of the army and took his seat at the high place to which he had been appointed by the Emperor, the other great officers took their seats according to their positions, while the nobles and commons collected round like stars. Then the ambassadors were called. They placed their heads on the ground before the canopy of the 'Shadow of God' and presented their elephants to the assembly.² *The 'Maliks' sat while the elephants passed, you would have thought the planets had become stationary while the constellations had begun to move.*

³ The elephants were such as neither the brush of the artist can portray nor the pen of the panegyrist describe. Every one of them was a throne fit for a king, and an ivory factory inside. It moved without props and yet stood on four columns. Its back was adorned by a jewelled litter, it sometimes carried a litter and sometimes a load. Its banner (trunk) rose from its back like a spear into the air, while its feet cast their shields (foot-prints) on the ground. It wore a dress of living velvet. Its furious onslaught could uproot a tree. Its tusks came out of either side, and in spite of their strength, had been plated over with gold. Contented to live on rice, in its anger it could, nevertheless, drink up a whole pond. It threw forward its trunk like a rope, while its eyes remained behind as if in ambush. It would sit down respectfully when its driver wished to climb to its back. Entrusting the guardianship of its eyes to its ears, it had surrounded its two lamps (eyes) with soft cartilage and fed them with a gentle breeze by the movement of its ears. Its teeth were set firmly inside, its tusks rose like ivory pillars surrounded by gold. A tall building on four columns, it raised its head into the air, while its nose came to the ground, there was a crescent on its forehead, and its tail rested on its buttocks. It looked like a hill with a long sash

¹ *Allusions to stars*

² The canopy was the symbol of Imperial authority, and people bowed before it even when the Emperor was not personally present.

³ *Allusions to elephants* I have not translated literally this paragraph which has no historical significance

for a nose, or else like a camel with a crocodile stuck to its front. It carried its wine-glass in its head, and liquor was distilled from its ears. Without any particular sorrow, it scattered dust over its head; without any weakness, its body felt heavy. It looked like a cloud arisen out of the sea-shore, wearing vermilion tulips on its forehead and green leaves in its ears. Every one of them had these qualities, and yet each was better than the other—for each was like the mountain and yet like the wind, soft to walk and firm to stand; Hindū-slayer and yet infidel property, baggage-carrier as well as warrior; it carried a load on its back and its face looked towards the Court, for if strong-necked, it was also obedient; the ebony-coloured manufacturer of ivory, it carried its head high and at the same time kissed the ground; a meet seat for the king, and a servant of the Court, its body was heavy and its paces were gentle; it could break the enemy-lines, and yet fight in ordered ranks. *And when they move together in a row, there is an earthquake of Fad ' Fad ' and Saf ' Saf '*

¹ After the elephants had passed, the treasures they carried on their backs were displayed. The boxes were full of valuables and gems, the excellence of which *drove the onlookers mad*. Every emerald (*zabarjad*) sparkled in the light of the sun, or, rather, the sun reflected back the light of the emerald. The rubies (*yāqūt*) dazzled the eye of the sun and if a ray from them had fallen on a lamp of fire, the lamp would have burst into flames. The 'Cat's eye' (*'ainul hirraf*) was such that a lion after seeing it would have looked with contempt at the sun, and the 'Cock's eye' (*'ainud dik*) were so brilliant that the 'Cat's eye' was afraid to look at it. The lustre of the rubies (*la'l*) illuminated the darkness of the night and *the mine, as you might light one lamp from another*. The emeralds had a fineness of water that could eclipse the lawn of paradise. The diamonds (*ulmas*) would have penetrated into an iron heart like an arrow of steel, and yet owing to their delicate nature, would have been shattered by the stroke of a hammer. The other stones were such that the sun blushed to look at them. *As for the pearls, you would not find the like of them, even if you kept diving into the sea through all eternity*. The gold was like the full moon of the twelfth night; it seemed that in order to ripen it, that *alchemist, the sun,*

¹ Allusions to jewels

had lighted its fire, and the morning had blown its breath, for years.

¹ When the horses were brought, the prestige of all that the ambassadors had previously displayed flew away like the wind. Lest the struggle should be further prolonged, every horse in the Rāi's palace and stables had been brought, even the wind of them was not left in his hands. The sight of these fleet-footed animals captivated every heart—*the heart of the Mussalmān was broken, and the soul of the Hindu flew away from his breast*, for the horses were such as their eyes had never seen.

² When the Rāi had sent through his clever ambassadors all that he had received by way of inheritance from his ancestors, *the 'Artiz-i Mumālūk* went to examine the jewels. He divided them into 'genus' and 'species', 'class' after 'class', and had everything written down. He then stood up and turned to the ambassadors. It was clear to his perfect judgment that the wealth and property of the Rāi had been wholly confiscated, and that no jewel had been kept away from its proper place. Yet as a diplomatic formality, he propounded 'propositions' before the wise ambassadors, and ultimately unfolded to them the 'major' and the 'minor premises'. In an address, full of a variety of meaning, he put it to them. 'You are acquainted with every "species" (of this treasure). If on investigation a single item is found missing, though your life is "indivisible" yet will I destroy it, and with the stroke of the sword, I will divide your parts (limbs) into indivisible "atoms"'. Take care and state the true premises! Tell me, as all the gems of the Rāi are excellent, has he sent the best of them hither? How has he classified "talking" and "neighing animals" (men and horses) and what portion of them has he retained?'³

¹ *Allusions to horses*

² *Allusions to philosophy that confound the understanding*

³ Khwāja Hāji's meaning is obvious. If the Rāi had failed to send any valuables, which by the agreement he was bound to, the ambassadors would be held responsible for the default, provided they were cognisant of it. As the Imperial army could not enter the fort, the only method of getting the agreement enforced was by superfluous threats. For the rest, Amir Khusrau's ornamentation may be ignored, such logical language would not be used even in the inter-university negotiations of to-day, and the Rāi's ambassadors, with their eloquent Hindi, could not have used the logical terms put into their mouths.

'By the God, who has created man, the finest of "substances"''¹ swore the philosophic ambassadors, 'Each of these jewels is of a "kind" of which no man can calculate the value. And among them is a jewel, unparalleled in the whole world, though according to perfect philosophers such a substance cannot exist.'² Before this time we had been advising the Rāi to send a part of the jewels, that had never been cut or divided,³ to the Imperial Court. 'This jewel (treasure) is unique according to the opinion of all men,' and he would reply, 'Let him who wishes to cut and divide (share) it, attempt the task. It is impossible for such a jewel (treasure) to be divided; he who talks of doing so is in a great error' Thus was he accustomed to speak, but then the sword of the Imperial officers began its lecture, the Rāi understood that its stroke would divide up those singular 'substances,' and has sent all his jewels to the Imperial muster. There is no stone left in the Rāi's treasury that can be considered 'precious', nor is there any neighing creature in his stables that can be designated a 'horse'. As for the elephant, it is a famous 'body' and a large animal, if man is superior to it in dignity, he is also smaller in size. If there had been another 'species' of the same 'genus,' the Rāi, with the sense he possesses, would have sent it to the muster along with other 'varieties' and 'kinds'. The affair is as we have represented. For the rest, your exalted judgment is higher, and even wiser.'

(The *Malik*) saw from the propositions of their speech, that their logic was clear of all confusion. He applied to them such 'terms'⁴

¹ The Persian word '*jauhar*', which in common parlance means a precious stone, also means 'substance' in Arabian logic, the sense in which '*jauhar*' is used by Muslim scholars is the same in which 'substance', as distinguished from 'accident', is used by Western writers. Amīr Khusrau, in this paragraph, constantly plays on the two meanings of '*jauhar*'.

² This is the famous Koh-i-Nūr, which according to many later writers (including Khafī Khan) was brought by 'Alāuddīn's army from the Deccan. 'Though logicians', to put the ambassadors' words in a different form, 'declare that there is no such thing as a 'unique substance', except the Divine Being, yet the Koh-i-Nur diamond has no peer and stands in a class by itself. You cannot find a diamond to match it in the whole world'.

³ That is, no one had overpowered the Rāi and divided up his treasure before and he imagined that it was one and indivisible like 'substance'. But the Imperial sword proved that it could cut and divide everything.

⁴ Apparently of threats. The 'terms' really used by Khwāja Hājī were not to be found in the ancient logic of Aristotle.

as had never been applied to them in ancient times, and that, too, in a way never to be forgotten. *But if any of their premises had been wrong, the conclusion would have been drawn with the sword.*

When the singular *Sah-kash* had fixed on the Hindū a tribute that surpassed all computation, the latter made a straight figure and put ten ciphers beside it,¹ and below it he wrote promising to send untold wealth to the treasury of the Emperor (May God preserve him to the Day of Reckoning¹). When the account of the *jazra* had been settled, the '*Ariz-i Hasb*² ordered the *Amīrs* and the *Katib-i Mohasib*³ to take the roll of those who were present in, or absent from, the army. On the 16th *Shawwāl*, the *Sah-kash*, having achieved his object, turned his horse towards the meadows of the Capital, and guided it in such a way that its feet went on making half-ciphers⁴ on the ground. This figure indicated that in comparison to the spoils he was searching for, the untold treasures he had obtained were less than even half-a-cipher. *And since a cipher means absolute non-entity, you can well see how much less than non-entity half-a-cipher is.*⁵ The month of *Zil Hijjah* was spent in crossing the extensive forest. On 11th *Muharram*, A.H. 710 the Imperial officers reached Delhi, the deputy of the sacred Mecca. 'And whoever enters it shall be secure' On Tuesday, the 24th *Muharram*, a black pavilion was erected on the *Chautra-i Nāsirī*, like the Ka'ba on the navel of the earth. The kings and princes of Arabia and Persia took up their places around it. The *Malīks*, who had been sent on the expedition from the Capital, came before the Emperor, and after moistening the ground with the sweat of their brows, presented the spoils. Elephants of the size of Marwa, Safā, Tūr and Bū Qabīs,⁶ horses that raised a dust (cloud) out of the sea like western winds, and treasures under which a thousand camels would have groaned, were all displayed. The day looked like a second '*Id* for the people, when the pilgrims, after wandering through many

¹ He promised to pay 10,000,000,000—ten thousand millions only(?). The figure seems to be purely supposititious. But we are here dealing not with the revenues but the heirlooms of states

² i.e., Khwāja Hājī, the '*Ariz-i Mumālīk*

³ Keeper of the Army Roll

⁴ Which is the shape of a horse-shoe.

⁵ *Allusions to Holy Mecca.*

⁶ All four are hills famous in Muslim traditions.

valleys, had at last reached the sacred precincts of the Imperial Court, and their wishes, compared to which the ambitions of Ḥajjāj Yūsuf¹ were slavish longings, had been realized. The spectators went round and round the Court ; everyone present was allowed, without any hindrance, to see the display and obtain the reward of his pilgrimage. But the reward, that could not have been obtained by the labour of a life-time, was that the Emperor's eyes should suddenly fall on one with favour.

¹A famous governor of Persia, whose cousin Mohammad bin Qāsim invaded Sindh.

(Translated by Prof. Mohammad Habib, Aligarh.)

Reviews

‘ HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS ’

BY

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THE Orient has for long been associated in Western imagination not with barbaric pearl and gold alone, but also with despotism, and that in the popular, not in the original, sense of mere mastery. This latter conception has been so widely entertained that even philosophers seeking to exemplify an absolute will with no respect for any laws, logical or moral, have instanced the Oriental despot. It has been said that God must not be thought of as an Oriental despot.¹ How far the Indian conception of God is that of a despot is a question to which the answer is not far to seek. A God who respects karma in His dispensation of good and evil endowments, who cannot annul karma except on its being worked out, albeit the continuance of karma causes suffering to His creatures and in a way to Himself, a God that does not (perhaps cannot) devise short cuts to the world's release, is very far removed indeed from being a despot; He is limited in as real a sense as the monarch of the most limited Western monarchies.² If the people who conceived of such a God drew on their knowledge of earthly kings, it is exceedingly unlikely that these kings were such despots as they are often thought to be.³ One begins to suspect that, though we do not seem to know of democratic institutions and checks and balances as they are understood in the West to-day, there may yet have been very real limitations on the monarch, limitations which, perhaps, he could have set at nought in theory, but rarely, if ever, in

¹ Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of God*, 403, also Ward, *The Realm of Ends*.

² See a paper on *Divine Omnipotence* by the present reviewer, *Triveni*, March 1928.

³ The argument is, of course, not conclusive. The benevolent God-conception may have arisen in reaction against the actual despotic monarch, as Christian slave-morality arose, according to Nietzsche, in the reaction to their persecution.

practice. (A study of Hindu administrative institutions becomes necessary at least to combat Western misconceptions which extend not merely to our political institutions but to the whole of the culture that lies at the back of them.

There is yet another call for the study. The vaunted democracy of the West has proved of late not to be as attractive or infallible as it was thought to be. The system of counting heads is not an infallible test of the soundness of a person or a policy. The party-system which proved to be successful in a measure only in one Western country (and that, they say, is due to historical accidents) is being decried by responsible thinkers in that very country. The man who takes thought for the future of India, cannot but realize that making the country fit for democracy and teaching the average man how to cast a vote intelligently may not be the highest goal for the country. He may be tempted to turn to the past and seek to know what, if any, were the ideals of government which appealed to the people of this country. That an urgent stimulus of this kind is acting on many cannot be gainsaid. The working of the newly granted democratic institutions, the corruptions and schisms, the moral fervour of a few which lacks direction, because there is nothing but the moral turpitude of the many on the other side, the ill-conceived social legislation that is rushed through the highest legislative bodies, all these make one pause and consider whether we are not hastening towards a catastrophe, because the future we seek is not rooted in the past and grown out of the past.¹

These practical interests, combined with the pure love of research, have led to the appearance of many interesting and valuable volumes

¹ The extent to which the minds of the people are unsettled may be gathered from the expressions of opinion for and against the recent Child Marriage Restraint Act. The opponents based themselves mainly on the ground of religious neutrality promised to them by the Proclamation of 1857. They were countered with the argument that the Government was no longer foreign, that it was becoming their own government in an increasing measure, and that there was no sense in tying the hands of such a Government in respect of social legislation (See H. E. the Viceroy's reply to the Moslem deputation). The distinction between society and State, made clear in Mr. Dikshit's work and more particularly in Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's learned introduction, would seem to show that in the past, the State, though not foreign, did not claim sovereignty over social questions that it was society which dictated to the State and not *vice versa*. The demand for religious neutrality would thus appear to be grounded on the *ethos* and the political sense of the people, not on any Queen's Proclamation.

on ancient Indian polity, within the last decade and a half. The general trend of these works, which undoubtedly derived considerable stimulus from the discovery and publication of the *Kautilya Artha-Sastra* has been to show that the government of the country in ancient days was not irresponsible, that there was public opinion with recognized channels for the expression thereof, that that public opinion was respected in almost all cases by the powers, that it could grow at times even so powerful as to lead to the abdication or dethronement of the ruler, and so on. The institutions revealed by these studies have by some been called corporate, democratic, and representative. Some (like Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Dikshitar) would hold that there were definite elective representative assemblies, for the town and the country. However that may be, this much cannot be gainsaid that the king was nowhere near as absolute as he is imagined to have been, that he had very real limitations in the matter of legislation, that he had a minister or council of ministers responsive to public opinion, whose counsel he almost invariably took and mostly followed, and that his comparatively limited rights, went with correspondingly onerous obligations to the people.

The portions of Mr. Dikshitar's book dealing with these topics are interesting and informing reading. He draws not merely on his predecessors in the field and the material they used but also on ancient Tamil literature. In view of the practical issues involved, even a bare repetition of such fundamental ideas would not be uncalled for. When to the repetition there is combined a fresh (if at times naive) presentation and the utilization of new material, the book does more than justify its existence.

One cannot but feel, however, that Mr. Dikshitar's work stands, in a sense, on the border-line between adoration and appreciation, the tendency to find and stress Western parallels and the appraisal of what he finds on the basis of its independent worth. This is promising, in so far as it does not commit him finally to the former attitude; but one cannot help feeling curious as to the line he may follow in the future, so much of which lies before him. Reaction against Western misconceptions is very well in its place, but it may be overdone.¹

¹ One may recall with amusement how a Madras audience was told by an eminent Professor (some fifteen years ago) that Maine was grievously wrong in having called Ranjit Singh a mere tax-gatherer, since Ranjit Singh had

The taunt that India is unfit for self-government may not have been without its share of influence in the retort of earlier writers that we had democratic institutions long before they were dreamt of in the West. But surely the time has come when, with the impending grant of self-government in a fuller measure and the not very inspiring spectacle of democracies in the West, stock must be taken of our ancient institutions in a cooler spirit. It will no longer do to allow ourselves to be misled by considerations of mere etymology and nomenclature.

To take one or two cases in point. Mr. Dikshitar, following Mr. Jayaswal, holds that the *paura* and the *janapada* were corporate representative institutions. Mr. Jayaswal's arguments have been very thoroughly examined by Dr. Law¹, who comes to the conclusion that the terms mean, in none of the instances cited, anything more than assemblages of the people of the town or the people of the country. The difference between an *assemblage* and an *assembly* is very vital, and is one of structure and organization. *Prima facie*, the words used like *paura* or *janapada* or *samūha* would signify the more general concept. The burden of proof is on him who alleges the more specialized sense. And yet Mr. Dikshitar (who has relegated the topic to an Appendix) says that 'Dr. Law is rather dogmatic in his statements'². But surely the charge of dogmatism lies on him who asserts, without meeting adequately the objections to his assertion! Mr. Dikshitar does little to meet Dr. Law except to urge one or two general considerations³. 'The audience of His Majesty by the people must not and could not be so

employed Pandits to compile the code known as the *Vivādārnavasatū*. The allegation, if true would have been beside the point, as compiling a code is not necessarily the same as law-giving or legislating. It was shown later that the work in question was compiled at the instance of Warren Hastings and that the romantic association with the name of Ranjit Singh was a myth. Mr. Dikshitar, too, cannot help tilting at Maine and with as little profit. 'The theories of early writers like Maine' he says (on p. 190), 'who called the Hindu States "tax-collecting institutions" have little justification at any rate in regard to Mauryan times'. And this in a section where he shows not that the Mauryan State legislated for the people or even compiled codes, but that 'the principles of taxation were sound and the administration was efficient.' Surely, Maine had no quarrel with the principles of taxation whether of the Mauryas or of Ranjit Singh. His contention that the Hindu sovereign was not, like the Parliament, the supreme legislative body, has not been met. Nor is it likely to be met, if the contention about the Hindu distinction between society and the State is well-founded.

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, II, 385-407, 638-650.

² p. 157.

³ p. 158.

cheap' he says, 'as Law would imagine.' This, of a country where accessibility to all has been lauded as almost the principal virtue of a King! The justest of South Indian monarchs (Manu-neri-kaṇḍa-Çolan) is reputed to have granted audience to a cow! The reference to நகரமும் நாடும் is not any more helpful. What is more likely than that a poet should describe the entire town and country as flocking to witness a prince's festivities? Corporations have not a pre eminent right to mention, in a poetic description, as against the peoples in general. The mention of the கீமபெருங்குழு and the எண் பேராயம் is not conclusive either. They would seem to represent either professional or caste guilds, as in the case of the ministers of religion and the physicians, or bodies of officials appointed by the king, such as account officers, officers of the treasury, and so on. It is not shown that the மாசனம் of the Tamil classics was a representative assembly any more than the Mahājana Sabhas of to-day.

A government not responsible in the modern sense is not necessarily a non-responsive government. One may note with interest, in this connection, an incident in the *Mahābhārata* (XV, 8, 9 and 10), where Dhrtarāstra takes leave of the inhabitants of Kurujangala and retires to the forest. He wishes to make some gifts, 'inviting all the people' to his place. 'Many Brahmanas living in Kurujangala, many Kshatriyas, many Vaishyas, and many Shudras also came to Dhrtarāstra's palace, with gratified hearts.' The old King addresses them, tells them of his resolve to retire to the forest and the permission given him by Vyāsa and Yudhiṣṭhira, and requests them to add their permission. He reminds them of the past services of his ancestors, of himself, and his son and of the present grief-stricken plight of himself and Gāndhārī, recommends them to cherish Yudhiṣṭhira, begs their pardon for any injury done them by his sons, and prays for permission to seek retirement. 'The citizens and inhabitants of the provinces' who were thus addressed began to weep. They settled among themselves what was to be said and charged a certain Brāhman to say it. That Brāhman praises the rule of the old King, his ancestors and his son, says that the frightful carnage was due to Destiny, not to Duryodhana or to any other individual, assures Dhrtarāstra of loyalty to the Pāṇḍavas, and gives the old couple the assent so eagerly sought for. Here we have the existence of public opinion and the seeking of public approval. With all that, however, we have

but an *ad hoc* concourse of the inhabitants, not an assembly in any technical sense. There were no writs to the members, no election through which they were returned, no system of voting, nor even a permanent spokesman. Were these 'citizens and inhabitants of the provinces' an assembly ?¹

Mr. Dikshitar suffers from a weakness for drawing conclusions from inadequate data. From an inscription, which, according to his translation, advises the ministers to act in such a manner as would secure the approval of the Jānapada assembly, he concludes² that the position of the ministers was secure so long as the sovereign assembly had confidence in them. This makes several assumptions, none of which is established, viz., that there was a sovereign assembly, that the king could not remove a minister who had the support of that assembly, and that the notion of an assembly having confidence in a minister was current in those times³. Again, he infers that ladies could take part in the assembly discussion 'from the fact that Maṇḍodarī goes to Rāvana's court after the death of Prahasta and dissuades him by several arguments to desist (*śuc*) from fighting Rāma.'⁴ A righteous, devoted and peace-loving wife pleading with her husband to desist from damning himself here and hereafter—does it prove anything more than that there was no purdah for Maṇḍodarī to observe ? Or was she the first of the Dravidian women to have a vote ?

Mr. Dikshitar's arguments to show that there was trial by jury in ancient India are almost as weak as his assertion that cannon were used⁵ in the warfare of those days. The instances cited from literature are the trial of Cārudatta in the *Mṛcchakatikā* and Draupadī's

¹ Quotations are from M. N. Dutt's translation. On the Kuṇḍu and the Āyam, see Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, 33.

² p. 145.

³ One effect of such hasty conclusions is to rouse the sarcasm of the Westerner. See, for instance, the following words put by Aldous Huxley in the mouth of a notorious waster, whose literary activity was but a pretence for his amorous intrigues. 'There is a point about those wretched Indians' he explained, 'that I really must clyahr up. I think I may find it in Pramathanatha Banerjea's book. . . or it may be dealt with by Radhakumud Mookerji.' He rolled out the names impressively, professionally. 'It is about local government in Maurya times. So democratic you know, in spite of the central despotism. For example. . .' (*Point Counterpoint*, 364-365).

⁴ p. 160.

⁵ The assertion owes its plausibility almost wholly to a mistaken transliteration (Śatagni for śataghnī, p. 277).

appeal for a judgment about the propriety of her husband gambling her away after having first lost his own independence. In the former case, the jury, we are told, consisted of the judge, the provost and the recorder or scribe.¹ What a Gilbertian jury! Was there even one who would not have been disqualified or challenged according to present-day notions? Could either the provost or the scribe claim to be a 'peer' of the rich Brāhmin merchant who stood in the dock? In Draupadī's case, again, which juror was there who was not a courtier at the court of Dhrtarāṣṭra? It says much for the moral sense of some of them like Vīdura that they spoke up and pressed the claims of justice. But if that kind of concourse is to be taken as a jury, is it not, on the face of it, a packed jury? Mr. Dikshitar's literary instances are not very happy. In dealing with local administration, however, he cites a passage from Śukra, which indicates that there were separate forest-courts, warrior courts, and village courts.² This passage, if authentic, would give some support to the notions of trial in the venue and by one's peers, the two cardinal notions of trial by jury. One wishes Mr. Dikshitar had noted more fully the significance and importance of the passage.³

The book covers extensive ground and a variety of topics, each of which requires considerable further research. Mr. Dikshitar's preliminary survey of the ground, though necessarily imperfect because of the extent, is yet full of promise. There are many problems he casually mentions, which would repay a lifetime of investigation. He mentions, thus, the existence of both law and equity. What was the relation between the two? In Roman Law, law meant civil law, and equity the law formulated for the non-citizens, on the basis of a hypothetical Law of Nature. But in India law was dharma; and dharma played for us the same part as the Law of Nature in the West. Did law and equity, then, flow as twin streams of dharma? What was the occasion, if any, for the second stream? And what was the scope of rāja-śāsanas? Did they supplement the dharma or supplant it or interpret it? Was there any State legislation in the Western sense?

¹ p. 248

² pp 341, 347.

³ On p. 347, Mr. Dikshitar says 'This has made B. K. Sarkar draw a parallel from modern English history where a peer was not subject to the ordinary Common Law court, and his case was to be decided by a body of peers'. But surely, trial by one's peers was the right of every citizen, not of a Peer of the Realm alone.

If there were in India sovereign assemblies like the British Parliament, did they at any time claim or exercise the right to do everything except make a man or woman or *vice versa* ? If they did not, what is the significance of the reservation ? These and many other questions of interest await solution at the hands of disinterested and patient students of Indian history. Mr. Dikshitar, we feel sure, will be a welcome addition to their ranks.

S. S. S.

‘ THE MAKERS OF CIVILIZATION IN RACE AND HISTORY

BY

L · A WADDELL, LL. D., C.B., C.I.E

[London, Luzac & Co , 1929, pp 1vi + 646 Price Rs 28 nett.]

THIS sumptuous volume belongs to a class of books which, while they impress the reader by the vast learning and labour that have gone to their making, fail to carry conviction to him and leave him with a sense of misdirected effort. Such books are the result of strong convictions firmly held by their authors who devote much time and effort to the task of accumulating all the evidence that can possibly be taken to support their views and presenting their theses in an attractive and popular form. In Col. Waddell's case, the strain of his very ambitious enterprise must have been very great indeed. Over twenty years ago he got a suspicion that the names of some of the Sumerian kings resemble some names of kings in the Indian Puranic lists and he sought the aid of one of the foremost of English Assyriologists in comparing the two lists of names, and the expert refused his assistance on the ground that such a comparison was not likely to lead to any results of value. This naturally did not satisfy Col. Waddell, and this is what he writes about the sequel : ‘ It now became a question of only two alternatives. Either I must give up all hope of comparing in detail the Indian king lists with the Sumerian, and abandon my long search for the lost Aryan origins, despite the innumerable clues I had elicited , or I must begin late in life the acquisition of another and extremely difficult new language, with a new and formidable hieroglyphic and cuneiform writing, in order personally to compare at first hand the Indian king lists of the early Aryan kings with the Sumerian. I chose the latter alternative, and leave the results to speak for themselves.’ (p. 54).

These results challenge all the established views of 'pre-historic archæology without exception, and anybody who reads the book with a working knowledge of the current ideas on the subject will find himself overwhelmed by an avalanche of strange surprises as he turns over section after section. According to the author's results, the Sumerians were themselves the celebrated Aryans, the makers of civilization in all lands. 'In short, the new evidence shows that civilization was essentially racial, and that it was Aryanization.' (p. 495)

This evidence is, for the most part, the comparison of the Indian and Sumerian king lists based on the author's own personal study of both. It may be of interest to the readers of this Journal to learn how the Indian lists have fared at the hands of the author. The 'solar' and the 'lunar' lines are according to him, not different lines, but only different versions of the same line of kings and 'of these main-line lists the solar are the most complete' (519) 'The later Indian Brahmins have taken great liberty with the Puru line'; 'the succession is usually gratuitously expressed in the modern MS. versions of the Puranas by the later Indian copyists as "son" even when a new dynasty appears' (520) 'And several of the so-called brothers are clearly merely different titles of the king himself arbitrarily separated out as brothers by the later copyists' (521) For these reasons, the author feels justified in taking fresh liberties with the Puranic lists and he introduces arbitrary changes in the list as can be seen by a comparison of the table in Appendix I with the tables of either Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* (Hall) or Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. And after all this bother, we are told, to take one out of several such instances, that Sargon is both Sakuni (not the notorious gambler of the Mahabharat, but a less-known grandson of Ikshvaku, who becomes a world-emperor in our author's account) and also Sagara (Ch. XIII) who is identified, again in Appendix I, (p. 524-5) with another Sakuni of the Puranas.

It is not possible or necessary to discuss in a review all the new ideas put forward by the author. What has been said above is enough to give a general idea of the methods of the author and of the nature of his work. Whatever may be said about the author's main thesis, the book is packed with many facts of unusual interest.

K. A. N.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

' A SURVEY OF SOCIALISM '

BY

F. J. C HEARNshaw, M.A., LL.D.,

[University of London Published by Messrs Macmillan & Co, Ltd.
London, 1928 Price 15/ net]

ONE of the few fascinating subjects of the period wherein we are living is the history of socialism. Perhaps the observations of the learned German economist L. Mises in '*Die Gemeinwirtschaft*' are not without truth : ' Socialism is the keyword of our day. The socialist idea at the present moment dominates the minds of men. The masses hang upon it. It engrosses the thoughts and feelings of every one, it gives to the age its distinctive character' The movement towards socialism came into prominence in the early nineties, though its origin might be traced to much early times, commencing with communism of primitive man.

Professor Hearnshaw, who seems to have been attracted to the subject for nearly forty years, presents to us in the book under review an analytical study of the subject. No doubt there are ever so many books dealing with the various aspects of the socialist movements, its merits as well as defects. But still the subject is far from being understood in any satisfactory manner. In this elaborate survey Professor Hearnshaw has tried to present a clear and lucid picture of what one means by the term socialism, its history and its merits and defects. In fact the author has divided the book into three parts,—analytical, historical and critical. After explaining in the whole of the first chapter the meaning of the terms ' socialism ' and ' socialist ', we are introduced to the six essentials of socialism—exaltation of the community above the individual, equalising human conditions, elimination of the capitalist, expropriation of the landlord, extinction of private enterprise and also of competition.

The second part is more interesting and here there is a genuine attempt to study the evolution of the subject and trace the course of events connected with the movement by true historical methods. There is a useful chapter on ancient and mediæval communism including a section on early Christian communism. The story of the movement is continued in Chapter V where there is a good survey of early modern communism. The next chapter is devoted to an enquiry into

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the modern movements of socialism in different European countries such as France, England and Germany. These three countries have profoundly influenced the movement and modern socialism is what it is due to that influence. While France contributed the sociological element, England and Germany provided the economic and political elements respectively (p. 207). Then follows a long chapter devoted to the all important but much misunderstood subject of Marxian socialism.

The last and more useful part of the work constitutes Chapters IX and X where the merits of socialism and defects are examined with ability. We are not, however, sure whether the modern economists and thinkers will agree with Professor Hearnshaw in his views regarding the movement which has contributed to the elevation of the labouring classes and humanity generally. For example, there is the statement of the Professor 'It is in the political and social, not in the economic, doctrines of socialism that such merits as it possesses reside (p. 332). He continues: 'These merits of course are not peculiar to socialism.' The learned author seems to feel that the contribution of the socialist movement is not much, and economically the movement has not benefited the community. In our view, though the capitalist is yet at the helm of the industrial world, and though competitive impulses sway the minds of business men, still the movement towards socialism has enabled the modern community to take a broad outlook on men and things in general, and has done much to promote the well-being of the manual workers and other members of the labouring classes. Towards this end its merits on the economic side are no less important.

V. R. R. D.

'A HISTORY OF INDIA: PART II—MUHAMMADAN INDIA'

BY

MESSRS. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI AND M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR.

[Published by Srinivasa Varadachari & Co, Madras. Price Rs 3.]

THIS handy volume is a continuation of a History of India projected to be published in three volumes by Professors C. S. Srinivasachari and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar. Like the first part, this part is an able survey of the history of the so-called Muhammadan India. The

title 'Muhammadan India' like the title 'Buddhist India' is a misnomer. But there is nothing in the title of the book. The real importance of the work lies in the contents of the book which gives an intelligent summary of the modern works published on the subject. Professor Mohammad Habib, who has contributed a learned introduction, draws attention to the chief feature of the work, free from all religious and racial prepossessions so common in modern writers on the subject, and pays a tribute to the authors in the remark 'The present work marks a healthy departure from the noxious text-books of the past.' We very much wish that some more space is devoted to the history of South India. The usefulness of the work is very much enhanced by a lengthy chronological table, a fairly good bibliography and five maps. We hope that the work will be popular among the students for whom it is primarily intended.

V. R. R. D.

'MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE'

BEING A HISTORY OF THE RELATION OF THE PORTUGUESE
AND MALABAR FROM 1500-1663

[Messrs Taraporavalla, Sons & Co, Bombay]

THIS is a work, the first comprehensive and connected history of the dealings of the Portuguese with the Indians on the West Coast of India. Mr. Panikkar deals with this subject from the first beginnings of the Portuguese connection to the final collapse of the Portuguese power. Mr. Panikkar had, in addition to the advantage of a knowledge of some of the sources for this topic of Indian history in his own mother-tongue, access to the records in Portugal itself. He has exploited the opportunity he had to purpose and has presented us with an account which is in many ways informing and exhibits an enterprise of the first European power, in no very lovely light. For this character of the account Mr. Panikkar is not exactly responsible. The work enjoys an introduction by that Doyen of Indian historical research, Sir Richard Temple. As was to be expected from him, Sir Richard brings out in ten pages the salient features of the history, perhaps mollifies to some extent the account as we find it in the book. The book confines itself, as Sir Richard takes care to point out, to one section of the Portuguese activities in the East, namely, the dealings

with Malabar. This part of the subject presents them perhaps in a worse light than their transactions elsewhere. But, on the whole, even including the achievements in other fields there is a great deal of discount from the glorious character generally given to their achievements in the East. Greed and fanaticism seem to have dominated in their transaction in one form or another, the one based on an attempt at securing commercial dominance, and the other—assuming a charter from Heaven—the conversion of the whole world to Christianity. In the carrying out of these two objects they generally had no scruples as to the means they had employed.

Sir Richard takes care to point out in the introduction that their whole outlook was medieval and in that medievalism they were no better or no worse than their contemporaries in India. Mr Panikkar's account indicates the balance the other way. The Portuguese came to India ostensibly for purposes of trade. They found others already in possession of it, particularly, the much-hated Moors of the West Coast. If it was perhaps a simple question of trade, they may not have experienced much difficulty in securing facilities for their trade. It immediately assumed the form of a monopoly of the trade. They tried to secure this monopoly in one way or other from the Indian princes who had their own obligations to discharge to the Mahomedan traders of the coast, of course from outside as well as those that had settled in the country. As is usual in such cases, such as, for example, the early Mahomedan invasions, they adopted a policy of terrorising and thus tried to secure mastery of the sea. In their prosecution of this enterprise they naturally came into hostility with the rulers of the coast and they did not shrink from breaking pledges and carrying on wars as they pleased against them. It is in their transactions with the coast powers that they managed to infuse the principle of fanaticism and made an effort as far as might be at Christianizing. They had some success on both sides at first, when they went beyond and attempted to carry it out systematically, they surrendered their judgment to a body of Jesuit priests who directed the policy of the state in this particular. That brought them up against the Mahomedans as well as the Hindus, the latter of whom all the time were not unfriendly to peaceful missionary work.

They hardly came in sufficient number to make a community by themselves. They attempted to form a community by inter-marriages,

which produced a community which could hardly be Portuguese, nor could they be exactly Indian. They had but a few forts on the coast of their own and had secured more or less the alliance of Cochin and Cannanore, which early threw them into hostility with the rest of the small states into which the whole of the West Coast had been divided. The chief antagonist against them was the ruler of Calicut, who was, as a matter of fact, the sovereign suzerain over all the petty states of the West Coast. So long as they had trade relations with the powerful states such as those of the empire Vijayanagar or the kingdom of Adilshah, their trade prospered to a considerable extent; but when these states declined, their trade also declined. With the decline of the trade synchronized the infusion of their religious fervour and an effort to uproot the Muhammadan horde. They could do neither.

The fact of the matter is that, although the Portuguese came to India not as a private company as that of the other European powers, and were sent over under the auspices of the Portuguese rulers directly, they came here with no definite idea as to what exactly they were to do. They had no well-understood policy either in regard to the one item or the other, except in the case of Albuquerque who wished to create a number of fortified bases on the coast and maintaining themselves on the sea. They would not carry it out systematically. Even in respect of the securing of the monopoly of trade, they might have done it easily even without the countenance of the country powers, if they had set about it in a systematic fashion and ceased from interfering in other matters. As Mr. Panikkar points out, the whole body of the Portuguese in India were not under one control, as it were, and could not therefore pursue a great policy. The tendency to private trade and the gaining of private profits dominated to the detriment of the more general interests, which interests the officials of the East India Company generally had an eye to even when they pursued their own selfish interests most unscrupulously. Having regard to the distance of their base and the states that they had to operate against, they could hardly succeed in this. They were able to achieve the success that they did in securing the control of the sea, and for a period of time even the monopoly of the sea-going trade, simply because the larger Indian powers neglected completely the development of the navy, and thus laid themselves at the mercy of anybody that had the means of securing this supremacy. The Arab-

Muhammadans generally gradually superseded Indian enterprise in this direction, and they were able to hold their own only so long as they had the support of the civil power, and when this support failed for one reason or another, they found it impossible to hold their own as against the superior equipment and the far more unscrupulous treatment that the Portuguese accorded to the vanquished. The Portuguese succeeded ultimately in crippling the nautical power of the Muhammadans without establishing their own on a solid basis. When the next European companies came upon the scene, the Portuguese had nothing to fall back upon and disappeared rapidly, the Dutch being able to sweep them out of their position with comparative ease.

Mr. Panikar has done his work with creditable impartiality, although he has not succeeded in suppressing his own feelings as an Indian, and born in Malabar. Whether it was possible for the Portuguese to have done better may be a speculative question, but one may perhaps hazard it that, even in those circumstances, perhaps the officials of the English East India Company as a body might have achieved more success.

MANDU THE 'CITY OF JOY'

BY

G. YAZDANI

[Published by the Oxford University Press for the Dhar State]

THIS is a work quite worthy of the 'City of Joy' and has been brought out not a whit too soon for those interested in the history and archæology of India. Mr. Yazdani claims to have written the book for the use of the ordinary visitor and seems almost to regret that it does not incorporate details, which might be of interest to the more initiated. He has succeeded in producing a book, however, which, while it serves the purpose of the ordinary reader, is not without information for the elect. He would refer the reader to two previous writers, whose works he commends as of value. We may almost say that this little book supersedes even those two others and is quite a handy book for those sufficiently interested to visit the 'City of Joy', as it was called by Muslim monarchs, who had a peculiar taste for the natural scenery. The book, it need hardly be said, is beautifully got up with forty illustrations including the frontispiece, the picture of the young Maharaja of Dhar, thirty-nine others

representing the remnants of the buildings of the locality. There is also a plan of the approach to the city and a map of the parts which constituted the fort of Mandu.

Mandu rests on a plateau of the Vindhya mountains, rather an extensive plateau lying nestled in the hills which run in and out here rising gradually northwards from the valley of the Narmada through the comparatively extensive plains of Nimar on the northern side of the river. In the middle ages of Indian history, the trunk road from the south seems to have passed through it between the Dekhan, Burhanpur and the farther south, to Agra. Even now it is not very far from the Bombay Agra trunk road, though it does not actually pass through Mandu. The place is now reached easily from Indore by bus. One has first of all to pass through Dhar, associated with the name of Raja Bhoja, the scholar and patron of letters alike, and a comparatively easy drive of twenty-three miles in a motor car takes you through the Alamgir gate across to the Bhagwaniya gate by which one descends slowly down the plateau in the plains by a comparatively easy gradient. Much of what one has to see can be seen along this road making one or two short detours. As it is now, it consists of a number of buildings, mosques and tombs, the two generally going together, and the remnants of a few palaces. All of them bear the look on the surface of being Muhammadan structures. The city received its present form, and the large number of buildings given their present shape only during the period of the dynasty of Muhammadans, who set themselves up independently in Malva as a result of the confusion created by the invasion of Timur. And this history extends from A. D. 1400 to the conquest of Malva by Adham Khan for Akbar. Dilawar Khan was the first ruler who ruled from Dhar, and it was his successor, who made Mandu the capital. This is the famous Shah Hoshang, whose name lives in the mosque and tomb in Mandu and the town on the Nerbada. The chief feature of the whole locality is the Sagar tank, a large spread of water almost in the middle of the plateau and two smaller ones called Munja Talao and Kapur Talao. There are three or four other tanks on the plateau and provide a comparatively full water supply. Of Shah Hoshang the great mosque and Hoshang's tomb equally are the characteristic buildings. The latter is set in a large courtyard surrounded by colonnaded halls of Hindu pillars, perhaps even the roofing, which Mr. Yazdani

considers a later addition. Hoshang Shah having set the example, each succeeding ruler naturally thought it necessary to leave his own monuments excelling if possible those of his predecessor. So every ruler has his own building, generally a tomb with which went a mosque, and sometimes even a caravanserai. They are all well described and very good illustrations are given of them. Mr. Yazdani had spared no pains in explaining the peculiar features of each. He divides the buildings into three groups, those of Hoshang and his immediate successors. He calls the buildings purely Islamic, having been constructed by architects imported from Persia, the buildings thus partaking of the character of purely Muslim structures. Then according to Mr. Yazdani follows a period when Hindu workmen at any rate, were allowed to take part in these structures, having received apparently training from those that were imported. According to Mr. Yazdani, they were given the freedom to indulge their fancy to some extent in regard to the ornamentation of the structures that they were employed to construct. In this period, he regards the combination attempted to be brought about proved rather clumsy, the Hindu architects and workmen not understanding the real inwardness of the Islamic structures to make an effective combination of Hindu and Islamic work. The third period, according to him, is the last fifty years before the Mughal conquest and the period following under the Mughals, when the Hindus had assimilated sufficiently the spirit of Islamic architecture to combine elements Islamic in Hindu architectural principles to purpose. He may be correct in this classification, but the particular point that he makes out, as in the case of Hoshang's tomb, that the Hindu structure round the tomb itself is a later addition, as much as to say that wherever Hindu work does appear, it actually belongs to a period later than that of Shah Hoshang, when alone, according to him, Hindu workmen were allowed to participate in the work, seems to hit beyond the mark.

To the student of history the question actually arises whether Mandu was actually a place constructed by Muhammadans after the Muhammadan conquest, although it must be said in fairness to Mr. Yazdani, he does not say so. In the *Khazainul Futuh* of Amir Khusru a somewhat graphic description is given of Ala-ud-Din's campaign against Mahalak Dev of Mandu. Then the fort was considered a very strong one, and Ala-ud-Din exercised his ingenuity

to select the best of his generals, and nominated no less a personage than Ain-ul-Mulk to conduct this expedition. He goes on naively to say that the fort could not be captured at all till a Hindu guide showed him a secret way into the fort. If a ruler like Mahalak Dev lived in the fort and could stand a siege for a considerable length of time to the despair of the first general of the age, it must have been a city of importance. Some few of the remnants of Hindu structures and one or two inscriptions, recently brought to light show that the fortified place did contain several of the elements that went to constitute a Hindu city. The question naturally would arise whether a structure like the colonnaded pavilion round the court of Shah Hoshang's tomb were not the colonnaded pavilions of a Hindu temple or a college, as in the case of the Kamaliya mosque in Dhar or the *Adar dinka Jhonpra* in Ajmer or the Quatul Islam mosque in Delhi. If this were so, it would mean that the Hindu work was the earlier of the two, and there is absolutely nothing novel in it. Hoshang Shah would simply have followed the example of his predecessors. There seems to be something like a tell-tale evidence in another case, the prayer hall and the mosque of Malik Mughith, of which an illustration is given to face page 86. There the colonnaded hall seems obviously to be a Hindu structure, and not originally intended to bear the three Islamic domes that are placed on the top of the roofing, and in this case perhaps it may well be said that it was a kind of Hindu building turned to Islamic use. The Jahas Mahal and the Hindola Mahal and such remnants of the palace as do remain to this day seem Hindu structures, not totally transformed, but rather partially transformed for Islamic purposes. The very principle of the structure and the structures in the interior part show them to be more or less Hindu in character made Islamic by outside additions and superficial veneer of brick and mortar. One could see in the compound wall of the Hindola Mahal stones with Hindu sculptures turned inside out, but occasionally laid sideways to tell the tale of this transformation.

While it would be hazardous to call into question the conclusions of an expert like Mr. Yazdani, he has done the work excellently and with thoughtful care, a more careful study may not be uncalled for to see how far this suggestion is possible. It is hard to believe that a city of such importance as Mandu did not contain Hindu structures, or

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that structures were completely destroyed by Muhammadan rulers of the place. There is enough left to show, even on the details given by Mr. Yazdani's work, that there were temples and places like that. But the existence of names like the Munja Talao associated with the name of Munja of the Paramara dynasty of rulers, and the name given to the fountain Nilakant, by which name perhaps the city was at one time known, would show that there must have been considerable structures in Hindu days partially transformed by the Muhammadans. A careful investigation perhaps might throw a little more light on this side of the question. Perhaps then we could understand more closely why the commingling of Hindu and Islamic work in some cases does not prove happy and in other cases actually does. We welcome the book as a necessary addition to that class of literature and congratulate the Durbar of Dhar and Mr. Yazdani for having produced it so well, both in regard to form and matter.

NOTE

Other reviews have to be held over owing to pressure on space. We expect to be able to allot more space for review in the next issue.

Select Contents from the Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

October, 1929—

L. D. BARNETT . 'Genius : a study in Indo-European Psychology.'

STEPHEN JANICSEK : 'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey to Bulghār : Is it a Fabrication ?'

H. R. DIWEKAR : 'Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti'. Mr. Diwekar concludes this learned article with the remark that Bhāmaha must have lived before Bhaṭṭi and in a period between Dinnāga and the visit of Hsuen Tsang.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOL. XXIV, 1928, No. 3.

PRAYAG DAYAL . 'Sitarami gold coins or medals.'

C. R. SINGHAL . 'Some more coins of the post-Mughal period from Ahmadabad.'

PRAYAG DAYAL . 'Rupees of Shāh Ālam II, Ujhāni—Āṣafābād and Ābdullanagar Pihāni.'

S. H. HODIVALA : 'The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins.'

C. R. SINGHAL . 'Bibliography of Indian coins.'

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New series)

VOL. XXIV, 1928, No. 4.

September, 1929—

SIR J. C. COYAJEE . 'Astronomy and Astrology in the Bahram Yasht.'

L. BOGDANOV . 'The Afghan Weights and Measures.'

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS . 'Lunar and Solar Eclipses in Hindu Astronomy.'

C. W. GURNER : 'Two notes on Bhavabhūti' The first note aims to place literary criticism of the plays of Bhavabhūti on a fair basis, especially for the Western critic. The second draws attention to the phenomenon of verses repeated from one play in another which is so distinctive a feature of Bhavabhūti's text.'

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI : 'Date of the nīti section of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.' The nītisāra of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, it is concluded, cannot be earlier than the ninth or tenth century.

The Calcutta Review

October, 1929—

K. C. : 'The Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Loss to the Exchequer.'

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA : 'Was the British Empire of India the Result of Design?'

November and December, 1929—

S. C. GHOSH . 'Paundravardhana to Karnasvarna.'

PARIMAL RAY . 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

SATKARI MOOKERJEE . 'A critical estimate of the Mimāṃsā theory of Soul from the Buddhist standpoint.'

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI . 'Popular Elements in the Purāṇas.'

January, 1930—

PARIMAL RAY . 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

PRIYARANJAN SEN : 'The Avestan Gathas.'

GOKULDAS DE . 'Original Nature of Jātakas.'

The Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. V, No. 3

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA : 'Puṣyamitra and the Śāṅga Empire.'

N. N. LAW . 'The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kauṭalya.'

N. K. SINHA . 'Ranjit Singh and the North-West Frontier Problem.'

N. DUTT . 'The Doctrine of Kaya in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.'

K. P. JAIN : 'The Ādipurāṇa and Brhat Kathā.'

The Indian Antiquary

August, 1929—

A. VENKATASUBBIAH : 'Vedic Studies.'

K. N. DANIEL : 'An Inscription of Iraya Chinka (Raja Simha) Perumal.'

September, 1929—

R. R. HALDER . 'An Inscription of the Time of Allata of Mewar.'

- P. C. NAHAR: 'A Note on the Svetambar and Digambar sects'
- J. N. SAMADDAR: 'Anusamyana'. Prof. Samaddar criticizes the explanation of the term—a system of transfer from one station to the other suggested by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and explains it as 'tours of piety.'

November, 1929—

- SIR AUREL STEIN 'Note on Explorations in Makran and other parts of Southern Baluchistan.'
- C. S. SRINIVASACHARI 'The Early Development of the Government of the Presidency of Fort St. George'
- K. P. JAYASWAL 'Evidence of an Asokan Pillar at Bhuvaneshvar in Orissa.'

Epigraphia Indica

VOL. XIX, PART VI

- K. N. DIKSHIT AND D. B. DISKALKAR 'Two Harsola copper-plate grants of the Paramara Siyaka of V. S. 1005'
- E. HERZFELD. 'A new Asokan Inscription from Taxila.' Herzfeld who deciphered this inscription holds that the word Priyadarśana stands here for Asoka, and asks 'Who, unless Asoka himself, in his endeavours to propagate the new faith, could have had any interest to employ, in India at that period, an occidental, the Aramaic script and language?'
- V. RANGACHARYA 'The Pulibumra plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Jayasimha I'
- R. D. BANERJI 'Dhaul Cave Inscription of Santikara.'
- Y. R. GUPTA 'Konedda Grant of Dharmaraja.'
- R. D. BANERJI 'A Note on the Vappaghoshavata Grant of Jayanaga.'

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras

VOL. III, PART IV

- T. R. CHINTAMANI 'The Works of Prabhākara.'
- K. A. SUBRAMANIA Aiyar 'Studies in the Imagery of the Ramayana.'
- D. T. TATACHARYA 'Definition of Poetry or Kavya.'
- P. S. SUBRAMANYA SASTRI 'A Note on the 102nd stanza in Purananuru.'

Round Table

Summary of the Articles in the December Number

THE December number of *The Round Table* opens with an account of the Anglo-American naval negotiations in an article which sets out with force and clarity the difficulties which will have to be overcome if 'The London Conference' in January is to be a success. There follows a friendly appreciation of 'Mr. MacDonald in the United States' from an American pen, which gives a vivid account of the Prime Minister's personal triumph and the beneficial results which his visit should have on Anglo-American relations. The author also prints in full the joint statement issued by President Hoover and Mr. MacDonald, and discusses the London Conference from the American point of view.

In the next article, 'The Prerogative of Dissolution' is dealt with. The writer gives an historical account of the development of the Conventions of the Constitution and deals with the new situation created by the advent of the three-party system.

The article entitled 'India and 1930' is a timely account of the working of the Reforms inaugurated in 1919 and a re-statement of the facts which the Simon Commission will have to take into account in their Report. It also puts a number of questions to which the Commission may be expected to give an answer.

'The United States of Europe' is a lucid account of the political concept and the economic aspects of the idea which has been so much discussed at Geneva this autumn. It shows the difficulties in the way of the practical realization of such a scheme and indicates possible ways in which they might eventually be overcome.

An article on 'International Aspects of the Coal Problem' points out how far the conditions in the coal mining industry in this country are affected by those obtaining in other countries. The author gives the results of the inquiry recently held by the economic organization of the League of Nations which has just issued an interim report. Finally, he suggests certain forms which international action might take. The article is a most valuable addition to the literature on the coal problem.

The Great Britain article this time deals with 'Labour's first six months'. It includes their achievements in foreign affairs, the excitement caused by the announcement of the Viceroy with regard to the future status of India, and finally Mr. Thomas' plans for coping with unemployment. The Irish correspondent gives his usual lively account of 'Events in the Free State' both from the political and economic standpoint. The Canadian article is particularly interesting in view of the conference now sitting in London on the operation of Dominion Legislation. It deals with the growth of 'Law and Custom in the Canadian Constitution' and makes some suggestions with regard to Appeals to the Privy Council. The Australian section gives a valuable summary of the 'Report of the Tariff Commission'. It also describes the events which led up to Mr. Bruce's defeat at the General Election. The South African contribution is an account of the 'Customs Conference with Rhodesia', in which the writer points out the far-reaching results which the failure to come to an agreement may have upon the future of the two countries. Another section describes the competition between railways and roads in the Union. New Zealand continues the account begun in the last issue of the political developments under the premiership of Sir Joseph Ward.

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
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Rasārṇavāṅkārāḥ

PRAKĪŚAVARṢA-VIRACITAH

Edited by

Mahopādhyāya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma, Vidyabhusana,
University of Madras

Śrīr astu.

Pade vākye 'tha vākyārthe doṣavargas tv ayam tridhā |
Kramaśaḥ pūrvabhāṅgyā tu tatprapañcaḥ (prakīrtyate) || 1 ||
(Asādhu cā) nibaddhaṁ ca kaṣṭhaṁ kliṣṭhaṁ anarthakam |
Apuṣṭārthaṁ ca gūḍhārthaṁ apratītaṁ saśaṁśayam || 2 ||
Neyārthaṁ asamarthaṁ ca yac ca tatrāprayojakam |
Do * * * ṣam iti spaṣṭhaṁ padadoṣāś caturdaśa || 3 ||
Śabdaśāstraviruddhaṁ yat tad asādhu nigadyate |
Na prayuktaṁ (kṛtīn ? kavīn)drāy yad anibaddhaṁ tad ucyate || 4 ||
Pra * * ccāryavarṇas tu kaṣṭhaṁ śravaṇadurbhagam |
Pāramparyeṇa cārthasya sūcakaṁ kliṣṭhaṁ ucyate || 5 ||
Pādapūraṇamātraṁ yat tac ca * * d anarthakam |
Vācyatucchatayā kliṣṭhaṁ apuṣṭārthaṁ maṇiṣibhiḥ || 6 ||
Aprasiddhārthasambaddhaṁ gūḍhoktir abhidhīyate |
Śāstras * * * yuktaṁ yad apratītaṁ tad ucyate || 7 ||
Yatrārthāntarasambandhas tad vadanti saśaṁśayam |
Svayaṁ kalpitasauketam neyārtha (m abhidhīyate) || 8 ||
Asamarthaṁ tu yad baddhaṁ rūḍhivartmavyatikramāt |
Vivakṣitaprameyasya nopakārya prayojakam || 9 ||
Deśya * thavā yan nyastam deśarūḍhigatam padam |
Asabhyamaṅgalaṁ grāmyaṁ tathā yac ca ghrṇākaram || 10 ||
Sākṣāt tatsmṛtihetutvāt trividhā * * * bhavet ||
Śabdahīnam kramabhraṣṭhaṁ viśandhi punaruktimat || 11 ||
Vyākīrṇam bhinnavṛttaṁ ca saṅkīrṇam garbhitam tathā |
Vibhinnaliṅgavacane khaṇḍjaṁ nyūnādhikam bhavet || 12 ||
Śleṣādiguṇahīnam ca vākyadoṣāś caturdaśa |
Bhinnabhāṣāpadāviddham śabdahīnam (pra) kīrtitam || 13 ||
Śabdārthavyutkramo yatra kramabhraṣṭhaṁ tad iṣyate |
Viruddhasandhi nissandhi viśandhīti nigadyate || 14 ||

Tādṛk padapadārthānām nibandhe punaruktimat ,
 Anekapadasantānavyāhatasmṛtibhiḥ padaiḥ || 15 ||
 Yojanā yatra tad vākyaṃ vyākīrṇam abhidhīyate |
 Chandolakṣaṇahīnaṃ tu bhinnavṛttam vidur budhāḥ || 16 ||
 Tad varṇayatibhedena dvidhā tajjñair udāhṛtam |
 Vākyaāntarapadonmīśraṃ (ya)t tat saṅkīrṇam iṣyate || 17 ||
 Vākyaāntarasagarbhaṃ yat tad vākyaṃ garbhitam viduḥ |
 Bhinnaliṅgam aliṅgatvād upamānopameyayoḥ || 18 ||
 Yasmin vacanavaiśamyam upamānopameyayoḥ |
 Tad bhinnavacanam nāma nibadhnanti na sādhaveḥ || 19 ||
 Kriyāviraḥitam vākyaṃ khañjam ity abhidhīyate |
 Jñeyam nyūnopamam nyūnair upamāyā viśeṣaṇaiḥ || 20 ||
 Viśeṣaṇādhikaupamyam vijñeyam adhikopamam |
 Śabdārthobhayabhedena viprathante tridhā guṇāḥ || 21 ||
 (Tadvi)paryayato doṣās tridhā vākye vyavasthitāḥ |
 Tatra śabdaguṇāḥ śīṣeṣaḥ samatā sukumāratā || 22 ||
 Arthavyaktiḥ prasādaś ca kāntir ity arthasaṃśrayāḥ |
 Ojo mādḥuryam audāryam samadhiś cobhayātmakāḥ || 23 ||
 Tatra tac chithilam vākyaṃ bhavet śleṣaviparyayaḥ |
 Viśamaṃ tu tad icchanti yatra sām्यaviparyayaḥ || 24 ||
 Tat kaṭhoram bhaved yatra saukumāryaviparyayaḥ |
 Santaḥ śam(santi) neyārtham arthavyaktiviparyayaḥ || 25 ||
 Aprasannaṃ tad evāhur yaḥ prasādaviparyayaḥ |
 Avyutpannaṃ tam ity āhur yatra kāntiviparyayaḥ || 26 ||
 * * ś śabdārthayoḥ prauḍhir aprauḍhis tadviparyayaḥ |
 Rūḍhibhaūgād anirvyūḍham mādḥuryasya viparyayaḥ || 27 ||
 Niralaṅkāram (ity ā) hur audāryasya viparyayaḥ |
 R̥jumārga iti jñeyo nissamādhir girāṃ kramaḥ || 28 ||
 Apārtham vyartham ekārtham sasamśayam apakramam |
 Khinnaṃ caivātimātraṃ ca virasam paruṣaṃ tathā || 29 ||
 Hīnaupamyādhikaupamyē tathā visadṛśopamam |
 Aprasiddhopamam caiva niralaṅkāram eva ca || 30 ||
 Aślīlaṃ ca viruddham ca vākyaārthe ṣoḍaśa smṛtāḥ |
 Samudāyārthaśūnyaṃ (yat tad a)pārtham pracakṣate || 31 ||
 Yad aprayojanam yac ca gatārtham vyartham eva ca |
 Uktābhinnārtham ekārtham vyāharanti viśāradāḥ || 32 ||
 Sasamśayam tu yat prāhur yatrārthasya na niścayaḥ |
 Apakramaṃ tu tad yatra paurvāparyaviparyayaḥ || 33 ||
 Jātyādyuktā * * * ḍham khinnaṃ ity abhidhīyate |
 Lokātita ivārtho yaḥ so 'timātra ihegyate || 34 ||

RASĀRṆAVĪLAŅKĀRAḤ

Aprākṛtarasam jñeyam virasam (rasa) kovidañ ॥
 Atikrūras tu vākyaṛthaḥ paruṣo viduṣām mataḥ ॥35॥
 Hinaṃ yatropamānam syāt so'rtho hinopamaḥ smṛtaḥ ॥
 (Yatro)pamānam adhikaṃ taj jñeyam adhikopamam ॥36॥
 Atulyam upamānam ced bhaved visadṛśopamam ॥
 Aprasiddhopamānam ced a(pra)siddhopamam tu tat ॥ 37 ॥
 Niralaṅkāram ity āhur alaṅkāravivarjitam ॥
 Yad asabhyārthasambaddham tad aśīlam udāhṛtam ॥38॥
 Pra(tyakṣa ? siddhi)vyāhatam vastu viruddham abhidhīyate ॥
 Pratyakṣādīprabhedena tridhā śāstravido viduḥ ॥39॥
 Pratyakṣavyāhatam * * * lalokavirodhakṛt ॥
 Yuktyaucityapratijñānām virodhas tv anumānabhūḥ ॥40॥
 Dharmārthakāmaśāstrāṇām virodhas tv āgamodbhavaḥ ॥
 Evaṃ trayam api-trītvān navatām pratipadyate ॥41॥
 Tatra deśaviruddham tad yatr * * * na yad bhavet ॥
 Tac ca lokaviruddham yat sarvalokair asaṃmatam ॥42॥
 Tat tu yuktiviruddham syād avicāreṇa (yat kṛtam) ॥
 Tad aucityaviruddham syāt pātre yadya (bha?) no*** ॥43॥
 Tat pratijñāviruddham syāt pratijñā yena bādhyate ॥
 Dharmāśāstraviruddham yaj jñeyam dharmavirodhi tat ॥44॥
 Arthāśāstraviruddham taj jñeyam nītibahiskṛtam ॥
 Kāmaśāstrakalāśāstraviruddham yan nibadhyate ॥45॥
 Kāmaśāstravirodhīti tat sarvam abhidhīyate ॥

ITI RASĀRṆAVĪLAŅKĀRE DOṢAPRAMOṢO NĀMA PRATHAMAḤ PARICCHEDAḤ

Nirdiṣṭasyāpi kāvyasya guṇopādānam antarā ॥
 Śāstrārtha * * lālokaḥ sādhutvam nānumanyate ॥ 1 ॥
 Na hi kuṣṭhādibhir doṣai rahitam kāminīvapuh ॥
 Nṛtagītādicāturyaguṇān (nāndriya)te kvacit ॥2॥
 Teṣu śabdaguṇās tāvat dvāviṃśatir udīritāḥ ॥
 Te ca sāvayanāmāno nigadyante maṇiṣibhiḥ ॥3॥
 Śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā mādhyam sukumārata ॥
 Arthavyaktis tathā kāntir udāratvam udāttatā ॥4॥
 Ojaś ca punar aurjityam a(tha) preyaḥ suśabdatā ॥
 Samādhiḥ saukṣmyagāmbhīrye (saṃ)kṣepo vistaras tathā ॥5॥
 Sāmityam bhāvikatvam ca rītir uktis tathāiva ca ॥
 Eṣa * * guṇoddeśo nirdeśo'tra nigadyate ॥ 6 ॥

RASĀRṆAVILĀṆKĀRAH

Yatra bandho'tisamśliṣṭaḥ sa śleṣaḥ kavibhiḥ smṛtaḥ ||
Prasiddhārthapadanyā(sāt pra)sāda iti kīrtitaḥ ||7||
Bandho mṛdusphuṭonmīśravarṇajanmā na saṅkaraḥ ||
Bhajate yatra sodbhedam tat samatvam udīryate ||8||
Arthocitavacebandho mādḥuryam abhidhīyate ||
Akaṭhorākṣaṇanyāsaḥ saukumāryam udāhṛtam ||9||
Dvitiyatulyā * * nām sarve cāsamayogināḥ||
Saukumāryeṇa bādhyante ni (?) vindur gurusamṃyutaḥ ||10||
Rephadvayasamopeto nai * * kvacid iṣyate.||
Na caikalakṣaṇanyāso bahuṣu syān nirantarāḥ || 11 ||
Nārād eko'pi bahavo vinā citra * * dhanāt (?) ||
Svayaṃ repho mṛduḥ kiṃtu kaṭhorayati yoginām ||12||
Anyonyamṛdusamṃyogah svalpo doṣāya (kalpa)te ||
Kāṭhinyalakṣaṇam tatra hantum yuktyāpi śakyate ||13||
Atiprasaṅgadoṣas tu pratityaiva nirasate ||
A(yam eva) svarādśāntaḥ pūrvam evāvalambitaḥ ||14||
Arthavyaktiṃ tu vidvāṃsaḥ prāhuḥ sampūrṇavākyatām ||
Bandhasyo *** kāntis sphuraṇād abhidhīyate ||15||
Vadanti bandhavaikaṭyam audāryam kavipuṅgavāḥ ||
Ślāghyair vi(śeṣaṇair yuktaṃ u)dāttam iti tad viduḥ ||16||
Ojas samāsabhūyastvaṃ tad (dvandvā ?) padapaddhatih ||
Bandhagāḍhatvam aurjityam samāse vyāsa ** ca ||17||
Preyārthapadavinyāsaḥ preyaḥ kavibhir iṣyate ||
Yā subantatiñantānām vyutpattiḥ sā suśabdatā ||18||
Samādhir (anyadha)rmasya bhaved anyatra ropāṇam ||
Saukṣmyam āhus tu śabdānām antaḥ sañjalparūpatām ||19||
Dhvanimattā tu gāmbhīryam āryair (eṣa) guṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
Abhidhānam samāsenā samkṣepaḥ parikīrtitaḥ ||20||
Vyastam vistāra ity āhur abhidhānaviśārādāḥ ||
Yāvadarthapada(tvaṃ hi) sammitatvaṃ nigadyate ||21||
Bhāvābhivyāñjakā vāṇi bhāvikatvam udāhṛtam ||
Upakramasya nīrvāho rītir ity abhidhīyate ||22||
(Vinā ?)ntareṇa cārthasya bhaṇanād uktir iṣyate ||
Ete 'py arthagūṇās tajjñair dvāvīmśatir udāhṛtāḥ ||23||
Teṣāṃ (ca la)kṣaṇam brūmas tat sadbhiḥ paribhāvyatām ||
Sapīdhānasusūtratvam (?) teṣu śleṣo 'bhīdhīyate ||24||
Yatra prakāṣa evārthaḥ sa (prasā)do guṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||
Avaṣamyam kramasthānām samateti satām matiḥ ||25||
Krodhād avāpya tivrātvam mādḥuryam abhidhīyate ||
Ma(nojñatā) padārthānām saukumāryam udāhṛtam ||26||

Arthavyaktiḥ padārthānām svarūpakathanam viduḥ ||
 Uddīptarasatām kāntim āmananti (viśārādāḥ) || 27 ||
 Udāratvam iti prāhuḥ utkarṣam vibhavasya tu ||
 Dhīmadbhīr āśayotkarṣa udāttatvam udīryate || 28 ||
 Prārambheṣu ca sam * * * jaḥ sukavayo viduḥ ||
 Rūḍhāhaṅkārataurjityam abhaṅguram ihocyate || 29 ||
 Preyaḥ priyapadārthānām upanyāsaḥ pra(kīrtitaḥ) ||
 Padair aduṣṭaiḥ kathanam dṛṣṭārthasya suśabdatā || 30 ||
 Vyājenānyārthabhajanam samādhīr abhidhīyate ||
 Sūkṣmārthadarśanam saukṣmyam vyāharanti viśārādāḥ || 31 ||
 Śāstrārthasavyapekṣatvam gāmbhīryam iti kīrtitam ||
 Bahor arthasya saṅkocaḥ saṃkṣepa iti kīrtitaḥ || 32 ||
 (Vistāram) punar arthasya vistaram tadvido viduḥ ||
 Anurūpaguṇāropas sammitatvam tad ucyate || 33 ||
 Bhāvayuktatvam ācāryair bhā(vikatvam) iti smṛtam ||
 Rītim āhuḥ padārthānām utpattyādikriyākramam || 34 ||
 Saṃvṛtāsaṃvṛtaprāyam uktir arthasya bodhanam ||
 Doṣāṇām api yeṣāṃ syāt guṇatvam kāraṇāt kvacit || 35 ||
 Catvāriṃśat tad uccyante te ca vaiśeṣikā guṇāḥ ||
 Padaṃ yāti guṇibhāvam anukartur asādhv api || 36 ||
 Yathā na bādgate skandho yathā bādhati bādgate ||
 Tathā * * * ṇa dṛṣṭam anibaddhanibandhanam || 37 ||
 Śruter avallabham kaṣṭam tan na durvācakādiṣu ||
 Api kliṣṭam guṇāyeṣṭam jhaṭity arthapratītikam || 38 ||
 Anarthakam na duṣṭam syād yamakādyupayogī yat ||
 Sadbhīr iṣṭam apuṣṭārtham chandas saṃskārakāraṇam || 39 ||
 Padāntarapratī(tyartham) gūḍhārtham api sundaram ||
 Apratītam tu tad vidyād goṣṭhīṣv eva guṇāvaham || 40 ||
 Sandigdham prakaraṇādiviśeṣāvaga * * (ṇaḥ) ||
 Yad vā tathāvidhārthasya vivakṣāyām iti sthitiḥ || 41 ||
 Prahelikādivākyeṣu neyārtham api śobhate ||
 Asamartham api prāya * * veṣṭam maṇiṣibhiḥ || 42 ||
 Aprayojakam icchanti jātyādaḥ tadvido guṇam ||
 Mahākavimataṃ deśyam lokokticchāyayā guṇāḥ || 43 ||
 * * * lakṣitam guptam api grāmyam na duṣyati ||
 Saṃvītasya hi lokena na doṣānveṣaṇam kṣamam || 44 ||
 Śivaliṅgādiśa * * * syā samyaktvabhāvanā ||
 Lakṣiteṣu ca śabda 'nyas tadartho 'nyas ca kaścana || 45 ||
 Smṛtihetutvayoṣam(?) tu vakrīmā (naiva bādha)te ||
 Nimagnadūṣaṇam yat tu tan nobbhāvyam maṇiṣibhiḥ || 46 ||

Kintu vaidagdhyaṃ unmr̥dya jaṭharam vyādhikopānāt (?) ॥
 A(śīlam a)pi samvītam guṇam āhur maṇiṣiṇaḥ ॥ 47 ॥
 Asabhyasmṛtihetos tu siddham apy abhidhīyate ॥
 Pātrāvasthāviśeṣeṇa do * * maṅgalam bhavet ॥ 48 ॥
 Amaṅgalasmṛter hetur guṇo sabhyasmṛtir yathā ॥
 Dhīmanto'pi nibadhnanti gaṇavṛttiyā ghr̥ * * ॥ 49 ॥
 Kvacid āśrayasaundaryād dhatte śobhām asadv api ॥
 Kāntāvilocananyastam malīmasam ivāñjanam ॥ 50 ॥
 * * vaśaviśeṣāc ca duruktam api śobhate ॥
 Nīlam ca pāśam ābaddham antarāle srajām iva ॥ 51 ॥
 Guṇatvam padadoṣāṇām diṇmātreṇa pradarsītam ॥
 Idāniṃ vākyadoṣāṇām api kiñcit pracakṣmahe ॥ 52 ॥
 Śabdahīnaṃ na doṣāya bhāṣācitreṣu kalpate ॥
 Yatnaḥ sambandhanirjñānahetuḥ ko'pi kṛto yadi ॥ 53 ॥
 Kramabhraṃśam api prā(hur na) doṣaṃ sūrayas tadā ॥
 Na samhitāṃ vica'kṣyāmīty asandhānam padeṣu yat ॥ 54 ॥
 Tad visandhīti nirdiṣṭam na pragrhyā * * * kam ॥
 Anukampādyatiśayo yadi kaścit vivakṣate ॥ 55 ॥
 Na doṣaḥ punarukte'pi pratyuteyam alaṇ(kṛtiḥ) ॥
 Vyākīrṇaṃ tu na doṣāya drāk pratītikaram bhavet ॥ 56 ॥
 Yadoccāraṇabhaṅgaḥ syāt saṃyogāder a * * * ॥
 Na chandobhaṅgam apy āhus tadā doṣāya sūrayaḥ ॥ 57 ॥
 Dhātubhedena duṣyeta svarasandhikṛtā * *
 Nāmabhede ca śeṣeṣu na deṣa iti tadvidāḥ ॥ 58 ॥
 Lupte padānte śiṣṭasya padatvam niścitam yathā ॥
 Tathā sandhivi(hīnaṃ tat) padam eveti varṇyate ॥ 59 ॥
 Paryāyeṇa dvayor yatra vākyam praśnottarādiṣu ॥
 Saṅkīrṇaṃ tan na doṣā..... ॥ 60 ॥
vidur budhāḥ ॥
 Rasāntaratiraskāre tad iṣṭam neṣṭam anyathā ॥ 61 ॥
 * * * bhinnaliṅgatvam yatrodvego na dhīmatām ॥
 Na bhinnavacane 'py evaṃ doṣam icchanti kovidāḥ ॥ 62 ॥
 Na khañjam api doṣāya kriyāpekṣā na yatra tu ॥
 Yatrāstyāder apekṣā vā yatra vā sphūrjitam dhvaneḥ ॥ 63 ॥
 Nyūnopamam api prāyaḥ suprasiddham na duṣyati ॥
 * * sarveṇa sārūpyam nāsti bhāvasya kasyacit ॥ 64 ॥
 Yathopapattikṛtibhir upamānam prayujyate ॥
 Akhaṇḍamaṇḍalaḥ kvenduḥ kva (kāntā)nanam adyuti ॥ 65 ॥
 Yat kiñcit kāntisāmyāt tu śāśinaivopamīyate ॥
 Evam evādhikaupamye na doṣam tadvi(do viduḥ) ॥ 66 ॥

Sukumārārthabandheṣu gauḍaiś śithilam iṣyate ॥
 Anuprāsadhiyā te hi bandhavaidagdhyanisprhāḥ ॥ 67 ॥
 * * * (thā)dibhedena yadi vā kavikauśalāt ॥
 Sarve kvacid kvacid doṣā labhante guṇatām amī ॥ 68 ॥
 Gaṇayanti na vaiṣamyam (śabdāḍambara)tatparāḥ ॥
 Arthaleśam ca gauḍāś cel labhante kim atahparam ॥ 69 ॥
 Dīptam ity aparair bhūmnā kaṭhoram api badhyate ॥
 Śabdaśa(kteḥ pra)titiś cen neyārtham naiva duṣyati ॥ 70 ॥
 Aprasannam api prāyaś citrādāv iti niścayaḥ ॥
 Pātraucityena hāsyādā * * tpannam apīṣyate ॥ 71 ॥
 Aprauḍhim api śamsanti sṛṅgārādiṣu tadvidah ॥
 Rasātīśayasandhānād anirvyūḍham na doṣakṛt ॥ 72 ॥
 Pūrvotfarārthasandhāne niralāṅkāram iṣyatey ॥
 Rasālaṅkārapuṣṭatvād ṛjumārgo guṇāvahaḥ ॥ 73 ॥
 Atha vākyārthadoṣāṇām adoṣaḥ pratipadyate ॥
 Mattonmattādivākyeṣu nāpārtham api duṣyati ॥ 74 ॥
 Tatra pratyuta sūktārtho niha(ṇti nihi)taṁ rasm ॥
 Tathaiva vyartham icchanti vyapetasmaraṇāya ca ॥ 75 ॥
 Rasākṣiptadhiyam vākyam naikārtham api duṣyati ॥
 Saṁśayaiva sandigdham yadi jātu prayujyate ॥ 76 ॥
 Syād alaṅkāra evāsau na doṣa iti me matiḥ ॥
 A(theda)m api vākyeṣu citrahetau na duṣyati ॥ 77 ॥
 Na khinnam api doṣāya yatra cchāyā na hīyate ॥
 Iti sambhā * m evaitad viśeṣyakhyānasamskṛtam ॥ 78 ॥
 Kāntam bhavati sarvasya lokasīmānuvarttinaḥ ॥
 Atyuktir iti gauḍīyair laukikārthavyatikrame ॥ 79 ॥
 Lalito mārga ity asmin atimātram apīṣyate (?) ॥
 Viruddhe lakṣaṇādaḥ tu paruṣam naiva duṣyati ॥ 80 ॥
 (Hīno)pamam na doṣāya yatrodvego na dhīmatām ॥
 Tathādhikaupamasyāpi na doṣa iti tadvidah ॥ 81 ॥
 Na do * * * (dṛ) śaupamyātirekopamādiṣu ॥
 Kadācit kavikauśalyād aprasiddhopamam guṇaḥ ॥ 82 ॥
 Jhaṭiti pratipattiḥ syād yatro * * pamādiṣu ॥
 Yatra syād guṇabāhulyam raso vāpi parisphuṭaḥ ॥ 83 ॥
 Doṣāya niralāṅkāram tan na śamsanti sādhaveḥ ॥
 Mahākavipathā * * ślīlam api badhyate ॥ 84 ॥
 Nāsti deśavirodho'pi dūṣaṇam kavikauśalāt ॥
 Doṣaḥ kāle virodhe'pi na kāryāntarahetutah ॥ 85 ॥
 Na ca (loka)virodho'pi tātparye doṣabhāg bhavet ॥
 Tathā yuktiviruddhasya guṇatvam kvacid iṣyate ॥ 86 ॥

Kvāpy aucityavirodho * * * vasthāntarā bhavet ||
 Na pratijñāvirodhe'pi doṣo vidhuracetasām || 87 ||
 Asti kācid avasthā sā (yā sarā)gasya cetasaḥ ||
 Yasyām bhaved abhimatā viruddhārthāpi bhāratī || 88 ||
 Dharmaśāstravirodho'pi na (doṣaḥ) puṇyatejasām ||
 Sa hi tatra prasiddhatvāt paramotkarṣakāraṇam || 89 ||
 Teṣāṃ tejoviśeṣeṇa * * * yo na vidyate ||
 Arthaśāstravirodhe'pi doṣo norjitabhāṣaṇe || 90 ||
 Kāmaśāstraviruddhe'pi na do * * * pekṣayā ||
 Raticakre pravṛtte tu naiva sāstraṃ na ca kramaḥ || 91 ||
 Kalāśāstravirodho'pi kvacid doṣāya neṣyate ||

ITI RASĀRṆAVĀLĀNĪKĀRE GUṆOPĀDĀNAM NĀMA
 DVITIAH PARICCHEDAḤ

Athonmathitadoṣasya nyastāśeṣaguṇa * * ||
 * * kāvyāśarīrasya cārutotkarṣahetave || 1 ||
 Jñeyo' laṅkārayogo' yaṃ kāmīnivapuṣo yathā ||
 * * * sundarasyāpi prakarṣādhāyako dhruvam || 2 ||
 Nisargaramyalāvaṇyatirodhāyakatā tu yaiḥ ||
 Uktālaṅkāraḥ * * teṣāṃ atīśayastutiḥ || 3 ||
 Svabhāvaramaṇīyatvaṃ vinālaṅkṛtayō vṛthā ||
 Lolastanataṭanyasto hāro ha * * * naḥ || 4 ||
 Alaṅkāraś tu nārīṇāṃ śarīre trividhāḥ smṛtāḥ ||
 Bāhyās tathāntarāḥ kecit tathā bāhyāntarā iti || 5 ||
 Tatra tā racitā bāhyadravyair bāhyā iti smṛtāḥ ||
 Pṛthaktvenāvabhāsante vastraha * * * dayah || 6 ||
 Svīyāvayavasamṣkārajanmānaḥ punar āntarāḥ ||
 Svarūpaśobhājanakā na(khol)lekhālakā * * || 7 ||
 Bāhyair api padārthais tu kṛtās tanmayatām gatāḥ ||
 Dhūpāsyavāsapramukhā jñeyā bāhyāntarā iti || 8 ||
 Tathā kāvyāśarīre' pi bhāsante bāhyato' pi ye ||
 Sarve 'pi śabdālaṅkāraś te bāhyā iti kīrtitāḥ || 9 ||
 Sphuranty arthaparāmarśād arthālaṅkṛtayas tu yāḥ ||
 Ātmanāntaḥpratītatvād āntarā iti tā smṛtāḥ || 10 ||
 Śabdotkarṣaṃ vitanvānāḥ śabdālaṅkṛtayo matāḥ ||
 Arthotkarṣanimittatvād arthālaṅkṛtayaḥ punaḥ || 11 ||
 Ubhayālaṅkriyās tv atra dvayālaṅkārahetavaḥ ||
 Jāti ritīś ca vṛttīś ca racanā ghaṭanā tathā || 12 ||

Mudrā cchāyā tathā yuktir bhaṇitīḥ śravayatāpi ca ॥
 Śleṣaḥ citraṃ tathaucityam praśnottaraprahelike ॥ 13 ॥
 Anuprāso'tha yamakam gūḍhoktir iti kīrtitam ॥
 Śabdālaṅkṛtayaḥ spaṣṭam aṣṭādaśa maṇisibhiḥ ॥ 14 ॥
 Saṃskṛtaprākṛtādir vā tatra jātir iti smṛtā ॥
 Śuddhā sādharmaṇī ceti tasyā * dvividham matam ॥ 15 ॥
 Deśarucyā vaconyāso ritir ity abhidhiyate ॥
 Tatprabhedāṃs tu sarvajñād ṛte ko vaktum īśvaraḥ ॥ 16 ॥
 U(cyante) ritayas tatra tathāpi prasphuṭāntarāḥ ॥
 Vaidarbhagaudapāñcālālāṭāvantīsamāśrayāḥ ॥ 17 ॥
 Tatrāsamāsā vaidarbhi (prāyo bahu'sā śṛṅgāra) guṇānvitā ॥
 Sākṣān nivasati prāyo vidarbheṣu manobhavaḥ ॥ 18 ॥
 Ato vaidarbhagarbhā giḥ śṛṅgārasyaṅgatām gatā ॥
 (Nisargato) hi bālānām api vakrah parikramaḥ ॥ 19 ॥
 Yasyām samāsabāhulyam varṇānuprāsasankulam ॥
 Bandhavaidagdhyaṇvandyāsau ritir gauḍīti kathiyate ॥ 20 ॥
 Samastair jāyate ritīḥ pāñcālī pañcabhiḥ padaiḥ ॥
 Saṃkṣepaguṇahetutvād iyam sarvajanapriyā ॥ 21 ॥
 Samasta * * * rṇā lāṭī caturavallabhā ॥
 Hr̥dyā vāṭīva lāvaṇyasampadām āspadam param ॥ 22 ॥
 Āvantikā tv iyam ritir uktalakṣaṇalakṣitā ॥
 (Bhā) ty ativa sudhābindusyandini yatra paddhatih ॥ 23 ॥
 Rasocitārthasambandhapadasantānaśālinī ॥
 Manovikāsaṃ(koca)varṭtanād vṛttir ucyate ॥ 24 ॥
 Kaiśikyārabhaṭī caiva bhāratī sātvaṭī tathā ॥
 Tathā sādharmaṇī cāsyā bhedāḥ pañca prapañcitāḥ ॥ 25 ॥
 Sukumārārthasandarbhānibaddhā kaiśikī smṛtā ॥
 Ata eva hi lāsyāṅgam vibudhair iyam ucyate ॥ 26 ॥
 Yā ślakṣaṇanaiṣaṇyaviśeṣayuktā strīsaṃyutā yā bahugītanṛttā ॥
 Kāmopabhogaprabha * * * rā tāṃ kaiśikīm vṛttim udāharanti ॥ 27 ॥
 Atiprauḍhārthasandarbhā vṛttir ārabhaṭī bhavet ॥
 Imām tu * * vasyāṅgam aṅgīkurvanti kovidāḥ ॥ 28 ॥
 Yad āha :
 Prastāvapātraplutaṅghitāni cchedyāni māyākṛtam indrajālam ॥
 * * * niyuddhāni ca yatra vṛttim tat tādṛśim ārabhaṭīm
 vadanti ॥ 29 ॥
 Anatiprauḍhasandarbhā sukurārthavarttinī ॥
 Mahāpuruṣa * * jyā bhāratī vṛttir iṣyate ॥ 30 ॥
 Iyam tu dharmāśṛṅgāragarimāñcitacetasām ॥
 Vallabhā Bharatācāryanāmnā * * * darśitā ॥ 31 ॥

Yā vākpradhānā bharataprayojyā strivarjitā saṁskṛtapāṭhyayuktā ||
 Sunāmadheyair (bharataih) prayojyā sā bhāratī nāma bhavet
 tu vṛttiḥ || 32 ||

Nātiva sukumārā gīr udārārtheṣu ced bhavet ||
 Iyaṁ tu sātvaṭi vṛttir mo * * gāraśālinām || 33 ||

Yad āha :

Yā sātvateneha guṇena yuktā tyāgena vṛttena samanvitā ca ||
 Harṣotkaṭā sambhṛta(citta)bhāvā sā sātvaṭi nāma bhavet tu
 vṛttiḥ || 34 ||

Yathāsambhavasambhinnā yasyāṁ catasṛṇām guṇāḥ ||

Vṛttinām sādhu vijñeyā vṛttiḥ sādharmaṇi budhaiḥ || 35 ||

Sarvārthaviṣayā hṛdyā nānāmāgavisārīṇi ||

Iyaṁ tu lalitā nāma kavīnām (citta)hārīṇi || 36 ||

Yad āha mahāBhāmahaḥ

Yatrārabhaṭyādiguṇās samastāḥ

mitratvaṁ'āśritya mithaḥ prathante ||

Misṛeti tāṁ vṛttim uśanti dhīrāḥ

sādhārāṇīm arthacatuṣṭayasya || 37 ||

Yad āha :

Yac ca vṛttyangasandhyangalakṣaṇādyāgamāntare ||

Vyāvartitam idam ce * * lankāratayaiva nah || 38 ||

Arthānukūlah śabdānām niveśo racanā matā ||

Sā tatsvarūpaparyāyaranā bhavati (dhruvam) || 39 ||

Upaśleṣaḥ padārthānām ghaṭaneti prakīrtitā ||

Prastutāprastutātītapadavākya prabhedabhūḥ || 40 ||

Sābhiprāyā(rthavīnyā)so mudreti parikīrtiyate ||

Upalakṣaṇam atrārthāśabdālankāraṇakṣamaḥ || 41 ||

Vibhaktir vacanaṁ caiva saṁ(vidhānam) samuccayah ||

Tasyā bhedās tu catvāraḥ kovidair upavarṇitāḥ || 42 ||

Anyoktīnām anukṛtiḥ cchāyeti parikīrtitā ||

Sā cānantā janānāntyād kiñcit tatrāpi kathyate || 43 ||

Laukika-skhalita-ccheke-mugdha-veṭokti-bhedataḥ ||

Pañcadhā tatprapañcānām parisamkhyā na vidyate || 44 ||

Arthānām ca padānām ca yojanaṁ yuktii ucyate ||

Arthānām yojane yatra śobhā syāt padapaddhatiḥ || 45 ||

Sā padasthā padārthasthā vākyavākyaarthagocarā ||

Tathā prakaraṇasthā ca prabandhasthetī ṣaḍvidhā || 46 ||

Prastutārthaprakarṣāya vakrah parikaro yadi ||

Tadāsau bhaṇitir nāma śabdālamkāra iṣyate || 47 ||

Tathā sambhāvanety ekā syād asambhāvanāpi ca ॥
 Kalpanā ca virodhaś ca caturdhā bhaṇitikramaḥ ॥ 48 ॥
 (Syān manohārīṇī) vāṇī śravyatā sāpi śaḍvidhā ॥
 Āśr namaskriyā nāndī vastu bījaṃ prarocanā ॥ 49 ॥
 Anekārthābhīdhā syāc ced anekārthapadair yadi ॥
 Vyutpattiyā vā bhaved āhus tam śleṣam kavipuṅgavāḥ ॥ 50 ॥
 Sa prakṛtyā vibhaktiyā ca padena (vaca)nena ca ॥
 Bhāṣayā pratyayenāpi śaḍvidho vibudhaiḥ smṛtaḥ ॥ 51 ॥
 Citraṃ tu niyamanyāso varṇānām īpsitakrame ॥
 Svaravarṇagatisthānabandhakārādibandhanāt (?) ॥ 52 ॥
 Upakāryopakāritvaṃ yatra śabdārthayor bhavet ॥
 Utkarṣādhāyakam (prāhu)r aucityaṃ tat prakṛtitam ॥ 53 ॥
 Tathābhīdhānatadbandhabhedāt tad dvividham viduḥ ॥
 Tatra dvaye'pi dhīmadbhir vibhītaḥ sambhramo mahān ॥ 54 ॥
 (Tathā pra)yoganirbhedah kuśāgrīyadhiyām tu yah ॥
 Nikaṣāya bhavet tac ca praśnottaram iti smṛtam ॥ 55 ॥
 Asya niśśesabhedānām (avabodhe)sti cet sprhā ॥
 Tad ālokeyata granthaṃ Vīdagdhamukhamaṇḍanam ॥ 56 ॥
 Vyāpakam lakṣaṇam kintu kiñcid asmābhir ucyate ॥
 Śakyam yadanusāreṇa sarvabhedaprakalpanam ॥ 57 ॥
 Antaḥ praśnam bahiḥ praśnam ubhayapraśnam eva ca ॥
 Prṣṭapraśnottarapraśne jātipraśnam ca tatkramāḥ ॥ 58 ॥
 Praśnam prahelikām āhur yatra nottarabhāṣaṇam ॥
 Kintu vākyārtha evāsau durbo(dho bo)dhyate budhaiḥ ॥ 59 ॥
 Parivartita-vinyasta-lupta-vyutkrama-bindukaiḥ ॥
 Varṇaiḥ sā pañcadhā śaṣṭhi bhaved arthaprahelikā ॥ 60 ॥
 * * * t tu bhinnārthā yā vṛttih śabdasantateḥ ॥
 Kavivyutpattinikaṣaṃ yamakam nāma tad viduḥ ॥ 61 ॥
 Avyapetam vyapetākhyam avyape * * * takam ॥
 Niyatāniyatasthānabhedāt ṣoḍhā tad ucyate ॥ 62 ॥
 Dvirabhyāsatrīrabhyāsacaturabhyāsapāṭhajam ॥
 * * bhyāsabhavam cānyat saptamaṃ syād samudgagam ॥ 63 ॥
 Eteṣāṃ tu na kārtsnyena prabhedā vaktum īpsitāḥ ॥
 Lakṣyalakṣaṇa(bodhā)rtham dīnmatraṃ tu pradarśyate ॥ 64 ॥
 Uptarūpah padanyāso gūḍhoktiḥ pañcadhā bhavet ॥
 Kriyākārasambandhapadābhiprāya(bhedataḥ) ॥ 65 ॥
 Amī ca śabdālaṅkārah padye gadye ca kovidaiḥ ॥
 Kāryā sandarbhaśobhāyai yathaucityam yathārasam ॥ 66 ॥
 Iha śiṣṭānuśiṣṭānām śiṣṭānām api sarvadā ॥
 Vācām eva prasādena lokayātrā pravartate ॥ 67 ॥

Idam andhaṃ tamaḥ kṛtsnaṃ jāyeta bhuvanatrayam ॥
 Yadi śabdāhvayajyotir āsaṃsārān na dīpyate ॥ 68 ॥
 Jātis tad atra vāgdevyā mūrtis tajñair udīritā ॥
 Rītyas tv aṅgasaundaryam lāvaṇyam atha vṛttayaḥ ॥ 69 ॥
 Alaṅkāratayāpy āsāṃ kāmācāro * * * ॥
 Vaktavyaḥ kāmācāraś ced viśeṣāpekṣayā bhavet ॥ 70 ॥
 Racanāghaṭane devyāḥ kuṇḍale parikīrtite ॥
 Dayāmudrā tu mudraiva cchāyā mālyam udāhṛtam ॥ 71 ॥
 Yuktīm hārāvalīḥ prāhur bhaṇitīm mekhalām punaḥ ॥
 Śravyatām kaṅkaṇaśreṇim śleṣacitre tu nūpurau ॥ 72 ॥
 Līlākamalam aucityaṃ vāsaḥ praśnottaraṃ param ॥
 Prahelikāṃ tu padakam anuprāsaṃ tu kañcukam ॥ 73 ॥
 Kṛiḍāśakuntaṃ yamakaṃ gūḍhoktiṃ kelikandukam ॥
 Vijāter gauravaṃ prāyaḥ kvāpi (kāvyē na) drśyate ॥ 74 ॥
 Rītis tu peśalo mārḡas sa cen nāsti kim asti tat ॥
 Racanā nāma cāturyaṃ tām vinā kaḥ kaver guṇaḥ ॥ 75 ॥
 Vinā (ghaṭanayā kāvyam) durghaṭaṃ na virājate ॥
 Samudratvaṃ tu nāmnāpi gāmbhīryaguṇadāyakam ॥ 76 ॥
 Vicchāyaṃ yat tu kim tasya vārtayāpi manīṣi(ṇaḥ) ॥
 (Nir)yuktikaṃ tu yad vākyaṃ tasya kā 'nyā vīgarhaṇā ॥ 77 ॥
 Bhaṇitir vakratā sā tu vidagdhajanavallabhā ॥
 Avakrabhaṇiter dosah (su)ndaryo'pi kulāṅganāḥ ॥ 78 ॥
 Na bhavanti vidagdhānāṃ prakāmānandahetavaḥ ॥
 Āśravyam iti ced uktam śrūyate * * * punaḥ ॥ 79 ॥
 Cittasaṃśleṣaṇaḥ śleṣaḥ citram citraikakāraṇam ॥
 Vinayena vinā kā śrīḥ kā nīśā śāśinā vinā ॥ 80 ॥
 Vinā ca śleṣacitrābhyām kīḍṛśī vāgvidagdhataḥ ॥
 Anaucityāt kim anyo 'sti tiraskārah sacetasām ॥ 81 ॥
 Praśnottaranāmna * * goṣṭhīvinodo na tajñair ākīrṇamantraṇe ? ॥
 Paravyāmohane cāpi sopayogāḥ prahelikāḥ ॥ 82 ॥
 Lavaṇena vinā bhojyaṃ tyāgena rahitam dhanam ॥
 Anuprāsavihīnam tu kāvyam ko vā 'bhina(ndati) ॥ 83 ॥
 Na tathā vallabhāśleṣo na pīyūṣarasapluti ॥
 Yathā bhavati modārtham akliṣṭayamakam vacaḥ ॥ 84 ॥
 Gūḍhagūḍhacaturthādivā(kyaṃ kanda)paśāntaye ॥
 Yadi vā vallabhā keligoṣṭhi bhramarasāvaham ॥ 85 ॥
 Yathāmati yathāśakti yathaucityaṃ yathāruci ॥
 Kaveḥ kāvyasya caitāsāṃ prayoga upapadyate ॥ 86 ॥
 Yādṛg gadyavidhau Bāṇaḥ padyabandhe na tāḍṛśaḥ ॥
 Pratimārgam iyā(n bhedaḥ sa)citrā hi sarasvatī ॥ 87 ॥

Saṃskṛtenaiva ko 'pyarthaḥ prākṛtenaiva cāparaḥ ॥
 Śakyo (racayitum) dvābhyāṃ kaścit tu pathibhis tribhiḥ ॥ 88 ॥
 Saṃskṛtenaiva ke'py āhuḥ prākṛtenaiva cāpare ॥
 Sādhāraṇādibhiḥ kecit kecana mlecchabhāṣayā ॥ 89 ॥
 Na mlecchitavyaṃ yajñādaḥ striṣu nāprākṛtaṃ vadet ॥
 Saṅkīrṇaṃ nā * * teṣu nāprabuddheṣu saṃskṛtaṃ ॥ 90 ॥
 Vadanti saṃskṛtaṃ devāḥ prākṛtaṃ kinnarādayaḥ ॥
 Paisācādyam piśācādyāḥ māgadhaṃ hīnajātayaḥ ॥ 91 ॥
 Ke'bhū(vann āḍhya)rājasya kāle prākṛtavedinaḥ ॥
 Kāle Śrisāhasāṅkasya ke na saṃskṛtabhāṣiṇaḥ ॥ 92 ॥
 Nātyantaṃ saṃskṛtenaiva nātyantaṃ deśabhāṣayā ॥
 Kathāgoṣṭhīṣu kathayan loke bahumato bhavet ॥ 93 ॥
 Śṛṇvanti lāṭahaṃ lāṭāḥ prākṛtaṃ saṃskṛtadviṣaḥ ॥
 Apabhraṃśena tuṣyanti svena * * * gūrjarāḥ ॥ 94 ॥
 Brahman vijñāpayāmi tvāṃ svādhikārajihāsayā ॥
 Gaupaḥ paṭhatu vā gāthāṃ * * * stu sarasvatī ॥ 95 ॥
 Vibhāvaivaṃ prayatnena śabdālaṅkārajātayaḥ ॥
 Yathāyogopayogāya (vijñeyā) kavipuṅgavaiḥ ॥ 96 ॥
 Etad grāhyam surabhi kusumam mālyam etan nidheyam
 Dhatte śobhāṃ idam iha punar nai * * * ti samyak ॥
 Mālākāro racayati yathā sādhu vijñāya mālām
 Yojoyam kāvyē'py avahitadhiyā ta * * * bhidhānam ॥ 97 ॥

ITI ŚRĪPRAKĀŚAVARṢAKṚTAU RASĀRṆAVĀLAŅKĀRE
 ŚABDĀLAŅKĀRAPRAKĀŚANAM NĪMA TRTĪYAH
 PARICCHEDAH

Arthālaṅkṛtayas tv anyā arthotkarṣaikahetavaḥ ॥
 Sacetanamano * * sadanantāḥ pracakṣmahe ॥ 1 ॥
 Jātihetur ahetuś ca sūkṣmasārasamāhitam ॥
 Bhāvo vibhāvanā'nyonyavirodho viśamaṃ tathā ॥ 2 ॥
 Saṃbhavaḥ pratyānīkaṃ ca vyatirekas tv asaṅgatiḥ ॥
 Tathā leśābhidhānam ca parivṛttir nimīlanam ॥ 3 ॥
 Vitarkaḥ smaraṇaṃ bhrāntir abhāvaś cāgamaś ca saḥ ॥
 Upamānānumāne ca pratyakṣam cārthika(ṃ tathā) ॥ 4 ॥
 Saṃśayo'tiśayaś caitā aṣṭāvīṣatir īritāḥ ॥
 Nānāvastuṣu jāyante yāni rūpāṇi * * * ॥ 5 ॥
 Svebhyāḥ svebhyo nisargebhyas tāni jātīn pracakṣate ॥
 Arthavyakter iyaṃ bhedaṃ i * * pratipadyate ॥ 6 ॥

Jahāmonam asī vakti (?) rūpaṃ sā sārva-kālikam ॥
 Svarūpaṃ āśraye hetum iti ta * dahetavah ॥ 7 ॥
 Te samsthānādayas teṣu sā viśeṣeṇa śobhate ॥
 Samsthānam atha (ca) * vyāpāro veśa ity api ॥ 8 ॥
 Svarūpaṃ iti śaṃsanti tatprapañcaḥ pravakṣyate ॥
 Bālavṛddhavi * * strihīnajātyādir āśrayah ॥ 9 ॥
 Tiryañco'pīti tallakṣyam dīnmatreṇa pradarśyate ॥
 Deśakālakalāśakti * * nāni ca hetavah ॥ 10 ॥
 Amīṣāṃ api lakṣyāṇi yathāyogaṃ pracakṣmahe ॥
 Pravṛtter vā nivṛtter vā yat(kāryaṃ) syān nibandhanam ॥ 11 ॥
 Tatrāśya hetur ity ākhyā ṣaṭpiakārah sa kathyate ॥
 Ekah pravartako hetuh (anyah) kārye nivarttakah ॥ 12 ॥
 Abhāvahetur aparo jūāpako 'nyah prayojakah ॥
 A(nyo) bahuprapañcas tu citrahetur iti smṛtah ॥ 13 ॥
 Kvāpi patra(vaśāyandhyah) kvāpy arthāntarabādhitah ॥
 * * tākāralakṣyo'rthah sūkṣmaḥ sūkṣmaguṇas tu sah ॥ 14 ॥
 Śūkṣmāt pratyakṣatas sūkṣmaḥ pratyakṣa itī (bhidyate) ॥
 Sa cābhidhīyamānah syāt pratiyamāna eva ca ॥ 15 ॥
 Sa dvidhāpi dvidhā miśro bhūtvā bhavati ṣaḍvidhaḥ ॥
 * * * * * hetus syād yah san napi kāryakṛt (?) ॥ 16 ॥
 * * rasyanirāseṇa sārvasamgrahaṇe ca sā ॥
 Rasa ity ucyate so'pi dharmidharmātmanā dvidhā ॥ 17 ॥
 A * * * prayatnād vā kāraṇam saha-kāri yat ॥
 Āsādyate kriyārambhe tad dvidhaiva samāhitam ॥ 18 ॥
 Abhiprāyārtha(gā yā) tu pravṛttir bhāva iṣyate ॥
 Prasiddhahetutyāgena hetvantaravibhāvanam ॥ 19 ॥
 Svabhāvabhāvanam syād ya * * * * vibhāvanā ॥
 Śabdato vārthato vāpi dvayato vā padārthayoh ॥ 20 ॥
 Upakāryopakāritvam anyonyam (abhidhīya)te ॥
 Mālārūpaṃ yad anyonyam mālānyonyam tad ucyate ॥ 21 ॥
 Sarvasvaṃ nyasyati prāyas tatra sākṣa * * * ti ॥
 Anyonyabhrāntim apy āhur anyonyam iha kovidāḥ ॥ 22 ॥
 Kāvya-vastūpakāritvād upalakṣaṇa(m eva) vā ॥
 Anyonyaikatayā prāyo vaicītryaṃ kāvyavastunah ॥ 23 ॥
 Atas tām api nānyonyāt pṛthag uptam pṛ * * * ॥
 Asaṅgatiḥ padārthānām utkarsādhāyini yadi ॥ 24 ॥
 Vakrīmākrāntasaundaryaḥ sa vīrodho 'bhidhīyate ॥
 * * padavīrodho 'pi kathitah kavipuṅgavaiḥ ॥ 25 ॥
 Nañā kṛtavikāratvāt sa noktaḥ śleṣalakṣaṇe ॥
 * * nīca śabdālaṅkāraḥ saṃkhyā-gauravabhīruṇā ॥ 26 ॥

Na mayā tatra yukto'pi prthaktvenopavarṇitaḥ ॥
 A(sāmya)kāraṇotpannam kāryaṃ viśamam ucyate ॥ 27 ॥
 Prayogaḥ prāyaśas tasya saundaryam avalambate ॥
 Anekakāra(ṇotpanna)darśanād idam īritam ॥ 28 ॥
 Bhaviṣyāmiti yaj jñānam sa sambhava iti smṛtaḥ ॥
 Vidhirūpo niṣedhātmā dvayātmā dvayavarjitah ॥ 29 ॥
 (Tad da)rśaneṣu tad rūpam caturddhāpi vibhāvyatām ॥
 Pratikūlaphalotpattim Ipsitārthasya kāraṇam ॥ 30 ॥
 Yat karoti tad ākhyātam (pratya)nīkaṃ maṇiṣibhiḥ ॥
 Yatrābhidhāya sādharṃmyam vaidharṃmyam api kathyate ॥ 31 ॥
 Vyatirekaḥ sa vijñeyah saptadhā 'sau prapañcyate ॥
 (Eko)bhayavibhedo 'rthah sadṛśāsadrśodbhavah ॥ 32 ॥
 Svajātivyaktijanmā ca rūpakaprakṛtis tathā ॥
 Kāryakāraṇa * * tra bhiṇṇadeśavyavasthitiḥ ॥ 33 ॥
 Jāyate tat phalam sā tu smṛtā dhīrair asangatih ॥
 Dūṣaṇasya guṇibhāvo doṣibhāvo guṇasya vā ॥ 34 ॥
 Dvayam vā yatra samśliṣṭam tat tu leśam pracakṣate ॥
 Anyasyānyatra vinyāso dravyasya tu guṇasya vā ॥ 35 ॥
 Yatra sā (parivṛttyākhyā) smṛtālaṅkāra-kāribhiḥ ॥
 Tām āhur vyatyayenaikām anyām vinimayena ca ॥ 36 ॥
 Anyām ubhayavākya-rthavimīśrā * * * * ॥
 Vastvantaratiraskāro vastunānyena ced bhavet ॥ 37 ॥
 Nīmilitam iti prājñais tad alaṅkāra iṣyate ॥
 Hitam cāvhitam caiva tadguno 'tadguṇas tathā ॥ 38 ॥
 Naiteśam lakṣaṇam bhinnam nīmilitam amīyata ॥
 Samśayā * * * tu syād ya ūho nirṇayātmanām ॥ 39 ॥
 Sa vitarka iti jñeyo nirṇayānirṇayātmakaḥ ॥
 Sadṛśād dṛṣṭacittānyasma(?) * * jāyate smṛtiḥ ॥ 40 ॥
 Yānubhūtapadārthānām smaraṇam tatra kīrtitam ॥
 Pratyabhijñānam apy āhur nārthānta(rataḥ) smṛteḥ ॥ 41 ॥
 Smṛtis svapnāyitam cānyā tathānyā vyaktivarjitā ॥
 Bhrāntir viparyaya-jñānam atattve ta(ttvakāri)ṇī ॥ 42 ॥
 Tattve 'py atattvarūpā vā dvayam tat trividham bhavet ॥
 Bādhitābādhitāpūrvam tathā kāraṇabādhitam ॥ 43 ॥
 (Vi)hānārthāsaṅgrahārthāv upekṣārthā tathetarā ॥
 (Kālekatipayā ?) bhrāntir bhrāntimāleti kathyate ॥ 44 ॥
 (Mālā) bhrānter na bhinnā syād etallakṣaṇalakṣaṇāt ॥
 Yatra vastuni nollekhamātram jñānasya vidyate ॥ 45 ॥
 (Sā)py anadhyavasāyākhyā bhrāntir eveti me matiḥ ॥
 Asattvam tu padārthānām abhāva iti kathyate ॥ 46 ॥

Kāraṇair api ced bhrāntir apanetum na śakyate ॥
 Sa bhrāntyatīśayo 'py atra na bhinno bhrāntilakṣaṇāt ॥ 47 ॥
 * * py utkarṣam āpnoti ko 'py arthaḥ kavikauśalāt ॥
 Sa bhavet prāgabdhāvo vā pradhvaṃsābhāva eva vā ॥ 48 ॥
 Atyantā * * * vo vā kalpitābhāva eva vā ॥
 Āgamas tv āptavacanam dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthasāadhanam ॥ 49 ॥
 Puruṣārthaprabhedena (sa catu)rdhā smṛto budhaiḥ ॥
 Dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇām śāstrāṇy āgama ucyate ॥ 50 ॥
 Ādyantau tāv a(dṛṣṭārthau) dṛṣṭārthau madhyamau smṛtau ॥
 Pravṛtyātmā nivṛtyātmā dharmo 'yam dvividhaḥ smṛtāḥ ॥ 51 ॥
 Nānāsama * * danadurbhāṇas tasya vistarah ॥
 Tathāpi brūmahe kiñcit mārgamāṇā pradarśakam ॥ 52 ॥
 Āryoktir iti santyajya vākyaṃ sandarbhām arthataḥ ॥
 Arthas tu trividho jñeyah pitryaḥ svaḥ sañcito navaḥ ॥ 53 ॥
 Tadupārjitaśāstrāṇām arthāgama iti smṛtiḥ ॥
 Tatra vidyā mahīhemapaśubhāṇḍam upaskarah ॥ 54 ॥
 (Idam mi)tram idam pitryam arthajātam pracakṣmahe ॥
 Kalatraputrasahitaṃ daśadhānyadvayam punaḥ ॥ 55 ॥
 Asyāpi vistarā(khyā)nam tadgrantheshvavadhāryatām ॥
 Āsīn māheśvaraṃ śāstram atra koṭipramāṇakam ॥ 56 ॥
 Punas tad api saṃkṣiptam atha (svā)yambhuvam tataḥ ॥
 Vātavyādher api granthaḥ saprapaṅcaḥ pravartate ॥ 57 ॥
 Bṛhaspater mataṃ cedam ida * * * sammatam ॥
 Idam ca Viṣṇuguptasya tathā Kāmandaker api ॥ 58 ॥
 Kiyanto 'nye 'bhidhātavyāḥ kṛtāye * * dher api ॥
 Atas tadarthajijñāsā yadi vah sampravartate ॥ 59 ॥
 Kṣaṇāntaraṃ pratikṣyaṃ tad anyas tāvad upakramaḥ ॥
 (Anyo) py upāyaḥ skandhānām ajñānenārthabhāṣaṇam ॥ 60 ॥
 Tenaigāṃ lakṣaṇākhyānamātram atropayujyate ॥
 Vinayenārjayaṃ yena vidyāder arthasampadaḥ ॥ 61 ॥
 Tenāsau vinayaskandhaḥ smṛto nītivīśaradaiḥ ॥
 (Paśupoṣa)khanidravyavaṇigvṛttyādivārtayā ॥ 62 ॥
 Svavṛtticintanaṃ yena vārtāskandhaḥ sa ucyate ॥
 Prajāvivādasambaddhanyāyānyāyanirūpaṇāt ॥ 63 ॥
 Ayaṃ vyavahṛtiskandha iti tajjñair udāhṛtaḥ ॥
 Kaṇṭhakākrāntasāmanta(rakṣaṇam) yena cārjanam ॥ 64 ॥
 Tenāyam arthatantrajñai rakṣāskandha iti smṛtaḥ ॥
 Heyopādeyaśāḍguṇya(siddhamantrita)mārjanam ॥ 65 ॥
 Susiddhaṃ yena cārthasya mantraskandhas tu tena saḥ ॥
 Sāmādhībhīr upāyais tu ye(ṣām ā) varjanaṃ bhavet ॥ 66 ॥

Upāyaskandha ity ukto mantraskandhād vibheditam ॥
 Pravaṇādibhir anyebhyo yena (cā)rjanam iṣyate ॥ 67 ॥
 Vibhramaskandha ity ākhyām ayam ālambate kramah ॥
 Jaitramantrādibhir yatra śāstrayuktyā pracodite ॥ 68 ॥
 Artha upaṇiṣatskandha iti taṃ ca pracakṣate ॥
 Caturaṅgeṇa yuddhena yatra vidviṣatām śriyaḥ ॥ 69 ॥
 * * * te tam atrāhur.yuddhaskandhaṃ viśārādāḥ ॥
 Paropadravasāntrāsapraśāntiyā yatra labhyate ॥ 70 ॥
 Arthah * * pi saḥ prājñaiḥ praśamaskandha ucyate ॥
 Atra caite pradarśyante yadi tais tair nidarśanaiḥ ॥ 71 ॥
 Prakṛ(tasya) vicārasya tadā deyo jalāñjaliḥ ॥
 Upayogaṃ vinā kintu na kvāpy artho virājate ॥ 72 ॥
 Upa(yogān) daśaikasmād arthasyāśya pracakṣmahe ॥
 Kvacid eva hi ko'py artho deśe deśe pravartate ॥ 73 ॥
 (Kvacit)tasyopayogasya deśa eva nibandhanam ॥
 Kāryatve sarvasāmānye kāryaṃ kāryānta * * kam ॥ 74 ॥
 Arthāntarānubandhitvāt tatra kāryanibandhanam ॥
 Upakārādinānārtthapratighāto hi dṛśyate ॥ 75 ॥
 Tatrā * * pratighāta upayoganibandhanam ॥
 Datvārthaṃ vairiṇaṃ sandhau kṛte vairaṃ nivartate ॥ 76 ॥
 (A)to vairanivṛttis syād upayoganibandhanam ॥
 Arthena vartanam yac ca tad vikhyātāṃ gr̥he gr̥he ॥ 77 ॥
 * * m eva tato vṛttir upayoganibandhanam ॥
 Guṇino 'pi daridrasya nādarah prākṛtāj janāt ॥ 78 ॥
 Tasmād arthopa (yogā)rtham bhaven māno nibandhanam ॥
 Api nirvyājavīrasya na tyāgavirahe yaśah ॥ 79 ॥
 Tatkiṛtir eva tatra syād upayoganibandhanam ॥
 Tasmād arthārjanopāyān upayogāṃś ca tatvataḥ ॥ 80 ॥
 Yato jānanti dhīmantaḥ so('py a)rthāgama iṣyate ॥
 Strīpūmyogas tu kandarpalalitaṃ kāma ucyate ॥ 81 ॥
 Tatraikatrābhīyukte strī * * * yatra tad dvidhā ॥
 Tayos tu manmathakṛīḍacāturyāvarjanārtthīnoḥ ॥ 82 ॥
 Śāstraṃ kāmāgamo nāma (yathā Vātsyā)yanādikam ॥
 Kanyā svastṛī parastrī ca sāmānyeti ca yoṣitām ॥ 83 ॥
 Bhavanti bhedās catvārah tatprabhedās tv anekasah ॥
 Tatra kanyāgataḥ kāmō dvidhā tajjñair udāhṛtaḥ ॥ 84 ॥
 Vaivāhiko bhavaty eko dvitīyaḥ (pāradā)rikaḥ ॥
 Svastṛī rūḍhāvaruddheti dvidhā kāmō 'pi tadgataḥ ॥ 85 ॥
 Dṛṣṭādṛṣṭaphalaḥ pūrvo dṛṣṭārthaikaphalo 'paraḥ ॥
 Rūḍhāvaruddhā raṇḍā ca parastrī trividhā bhavet ॥ 86 ॥

Eka eva hi kāmāḥ syāt tadgataḥ (pāradā)rikāḥ ॥
 Sāmānyā vanitā veśyā kāmas tatraika eva hi ॥ 87 ॥
 Dhirair nisargacātu * * turāsyaparakīrtitaḥ ॥
 Asyodāharaṇaśreṇī śāstraṃ pūrvopavarṇitam ॥ 88 ॥
 Ślokaṃātre * * * traṃ tathāpy etat pracakṣmahe ॥
 Ātmano bandhanacchedād aśarīradaśāsthitih ॥ 89 ॥
 Mokṣaḥ syāt tadupā(yārthaṃ) śāstraṃ mokṣāgamah smrtah ॥
 Yatra dṛṣṭārthasādṛśyād adṛṣṭo 'rthah pratiyate ॥ 90 ॥
 Pratibimbam api prekṣya pratibimbi pratiyate ॥
 Atas tad api rasajñair upamānam udāhṛtam ॥ 91 ॥
 Rūpam śaṃsanti mudrāpi svanimittasya vastunah ॥
 Upamānān na sā bhinnā bhavatīty āha (Bhāma)haḥ ॥ 92 ॥
 Avinābhāvinā jñānam yatra liṅgena liṅginah ॥
 Mānākhyayā tu tasyeha vyavahā(ro) manīṣiṇām ॥ 93 ॥
 Indriyārthasamāyogāj jñātaṃ yad upajāyate ॥
 Pratyakṣaṃ pañcadhā tat syād (artha)pañcakabhedataḥ ॥ 94 ॥
 Yasmin nātyaṇṭasādṛśyāt sandeho vastuno bhavet ॥
 Sa saṃśaya iti prājñai(r upa)māsodaras tu saḥ ॥ 95 ॥
 Udīritam asaṃbhāvyam lokavṛttānatikramāt ॥
 Yad atyuktipadākhyeyaṃ vijñeyo 'tiśayo 'tra saḥ ॥ 96 ॥
 Arthālaṅkṛtayas tv imāḥ kavisaḥ sambhāvanālipsubhir
 vācyās samyag udārabandha(madhurai)h kāvye niyojyāḥ sadā ॥
 Pīyūṣasrutisundarair api parair labdhvā pramode (rasam)
 sarvo 'py arthaviśeṣabhāvanaparah prāyo vidagdho janah ॥ 97 ॥

ITI RASĀRṆAVĀLANĀKĀRE ARTHĀLANĀKĀRANIRNAYO
 NĀMA CATURTHAḥ PARICCHEDAḥ

Uktas so 'yaṃ vibhāvānubhāvasaṅcārisankarah ॥
 Krameṇa sarvabhāvānām śṛṅgāreṣu caturṣv api ॥ 1 ॥
 Sthāyī ca vyabhicārī ca bhāvo dvididha ucyate ॥
 Sambhogo vipralambhaś ca śṛṅgāro 'pi dvidhā matah ॥ 2 ॥
 Samavāye ca udbhūtaś ciraṃ yaś cāvatiṣṭhate ॥
 Bhāvaḥ sthāyīti sa jñeyo 'py a * * (rītathonyathā ?) ॥ 3 ॥
 Abhiṣṭāliṅganādīnām avāptau yaḥ prakāśate ॥
 So 'smin sambhogaśṛṅgāro vipralambho viparyaye ॥ 4 ॥
 Vibhāvo 'pi dvidhaivātrāmbanoddīpanātmakaḥ ॥
 Eko 'nubhava * * re janako 'nyaś ca bodhakaḥ ॥ 5 ॥
 Tataḥ prabuddhe saṃskāre 'nubhāvo bhaved dvidhā ॥
 Antar bahiś ca bhāvottha * navavyabhicāribhiḥ ॥ 6 ॥

Smṛticchādveṣavarṇānām antaḥ santāna iṣyate ॥
 Manovāgbuddhivapuṣām bahir ārambha eva tu ॥ 7 ॥
 (Janmātīśayasamparkānugamān iha) ? ॥
 Vibhāvaś cātrā bhāvaś ca vyabhicārī ca kurvate ॥ 8 ॥
 Vibhāvāj janma bhāvānām uddīpanavibhāvataḥ ॥
 Anubandho 'nubhāvebhyo praka * * * * yate ॥ 9 ॥
 Samparkas tulyatātulyabalabhāvāntarodaye ॥
 Anugāmitvam anyena sthāyino 'pahnave sati ॥ 10 ॥
 Janmānubandhātīśayā * * * * * (dhā) nugamāt krameṇa ॥
 Bhāveṣu tal lakṣaṇalakṣyayogāt pañca prapañcān
 upavarṇayāmaḥ ॥ 11 ॥
 Saiṣa bhāvo ratir nāma kāma * * * māṅkuraḥ ॥
 Sauhr̥dāṅkurakandaś ca dvīprakāro 'pi darśitaḥ ॥ 12 ॥
 Bhāvāntarebhyaḥ sarvebhyo ratibhāvaḥ (prapañcyate) ॥
 Kavivargaḥ samagro 'pi tam enam anudhāvati ॥ 13 ॥
 Nisargasamsargasukhaiḥ prabhedaiḥ janmānubandha * * *
 dibhīś ca ॥
 Imam vinīścitya niveśayantah kavīndrabhāvaṃ kavayo
 labhante ॥ 14 ॥

RATIPRAPAÑCAH SAMĀPTAḤ

Catu * * * tir ityete vā harṣādayo mayā ॥
 Uktā janmādibhedena prāyah sambhogahetavaḥ ॥ 1 ॥
 Atah param pravakṣyante vipralambhasamāśrayāḥ ॥
 Caturviṃśatir utkaṇṭhācintāsmṛtyādayo 'pare ॥ 2 ॥
 E * * * dayo bhāvāḥ śrūṅāravyaktihetavaḥ ॥
 Kārtsnyād ekonapañcāśad yathābhedaṃ prakāśitāḥ ॥ 3 ॥
 * * * bandhātīśayasamparkānugamān iti ॥
 [Yuñjīta]sarvabhāveṣu vargayor ubhayor api ॥ 4 ॥
 Yad api ca gaditam prahaṛṣa * * tirsaso rativismayādir eva ॥
 Tad idam iti nirākṛtaṃ prakṛtāprakṛtijabhedam amī hi
 sarva eva ॥ 5 ॥

ITI PRAKĀŚAVARṢAKṚTAU RASĀRṆAVĪLAṆKĪRE ŚRṆGĀR[AVYA-
 KTIH] PAÑCAMAḤ PARICCHEDAḤ SAMĀPTAḤ.

ŚRĪR ASTU. HARIHARA... .. GARBHEBHYO NAMAH.

Prakāśavarṣa and his Rasārnavalāṅkāra

Although we have lost the poetical works of Prakāśavarṣa, Vikāṣa-nitambā, Hastimalla, etc., it may be inferred from the single-verses attributed to them in the Subhāṣitāvali and other Subhāṣita works, that they were great poets in the field of Sanskrit literature. There are several single verses in the Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra, the Śārṅgadharapaddhati and the Subhāṣitāvali, which are attributed to Prakāśavarṣa. In the same manner, there are some verses by Bhāsa quoted in these works, but none of them are to be found in the thirteen plays of Bhāsa, published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the editorship of Dr. Ganapati Sastri. On the contrary the following verse

“Peyā surā priyatamāmukham ikṣitavyam
grāhyas svabhāvalalito vikṛtaś ca veṣaḥ/
Yenedam idṛśam adrśyata mokṣavartma
dīrghāyur astu bhagavān sa pinākapāṇiḥ //”

which is ascribed to Bhāsa, is found in the Mattavilāsaprahasana¹ of Mahendravikramavarman, son of Siṃhaviṣṇu (Pallava king). Hence it is not possible to rely upon these Subhāṣita works.

In the field of Sanskrit literature the oldest rhetorician is Bharatā-cārya, who is supposed to be the author of the Nāṭyaśāstra. In the opinion of scholars, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin come next. The controversy regarding the posteriority and anteriority between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is still going on among scholars. But among these differences of opinion the majority are in favour of taking Bhāmaha as prior to Daṇḍin. The time of Bhāmaha is supposed to be approximately “in the period between the last quarter of the seventh and the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.,” and of Daṇḍin in the beginning or the first half of the eighth century.² The works of both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, the Kāvyaḷaṅkāra and the Kāvyaḍarśa, are written on the same line, in

1 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 55.

2 Vide Sanskrit Poetics by S. K. De., part, I, pp. 49, 70 (1923). There are differences of opinion in fixing the age of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. See also the introduction to the Kāvyaḷaṅkāra of Bhāmaha by P. N. Nāgaṇātha Śāstrīn, Tanjore, pp. 3 and 4.

the same style,¹ and with the same object. So it is but natural that they resemble each other in many places. Besides, some scholars have opined that Daṇḍin must have known, and been well-versed in Bhāmaha's work.

In the same field, there exists another work, namely Rasārṇavālaṅkāra. This work has not yet been published, and a Ms. of the work in Devanāgarī script is kept² in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library¹, Madras. On a careful inspection of the Ms. I find that the work is a valuable old contribution to Alaṅkāra literature. I read it several times, because the treatment of the subject is very clear, and the order of the treatment is a very good one, and not diffused, as in Bhāmaha's work. I remembered several parallel passages in the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. As the Ms. is full of errors, and omissions, I was in search of another copy of the work. At last I got a palm-leaf Ms. of the work, preserved in the Mss. Library, Theosophical Headquarters, Adyar, by the courtesy of Dr. C. K. Raja, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University. I compared this original, which is very old (probably 350 years old) and very much soiled, and I came to the conclusion that the paper Ms. is a transcription of the palm leaf Ms. But with the help of this Adyar Ms., I was able to correct some of the mistakes, and fill up some of the omissions, which were the result of the carelessness of the copyist. Even now I do not think that the text is free from errors. The authorship of the work is attributed to Prakāśavarṣa, because the following sentences are to be seen at the end of the third and fifth chapters (pariccheda).

- (1) Iti Prakāśavarṣakṛtau Rasārṇavālaṅkāre Śabdālankālaprakāśanam nāma tṛtīyah paricchedaḥ.
- (2) Iti Prakāśavarṣakṛtau Rasārṇavālaṅkāre Śrīgāavyaktih pañcamah paricchedaḥ.

The name of the work must be either Rasārṇava² or Rasārṇavālaṅkāra, because the last sentence of the fourth chapter bears the word

¹ R. No. 3761.

² There are two other works also in the same name. "(1) Rasārṇava—alam. Siṃha mahīpati, the nominal author is said to have been a Tanjore Prince of the last century. (2) Rasārṇava—quoted in Sarvadarśanasamgraha, in Todarananda in Rasendracintāmaṇi."

Rasārṇava only, while in other places Rasāraṇavālaṅkāra is used as the name of the work. The work contains five paricchedas or chapters. The first chapter treats of doṣa, the second of guṇa, the third of śabdālaṅkāra, the fourth of arthālaṅkāra and the fifth of ratiprapaṇca and śrīṅgāavyakti. From the name of the work, one will expect that this work describes *rasa* in a detailed manner. But there is nothing of the sort, and I think that even the fifth chapter itself in which some verses are to be found about *rasa* is imperfect, because I find several inconsistencies throughout the chapter. I guess that the present text of the fifth chapter is not complete and accurate. Moreover the fifth chapter begins in the following manner :—

“Uktas so'yam vibhāvānubhāvasaṁcārīsaṅkaraḥ” (v.1).

As mentioned above, the description is not to be found anywhere. All these tend to prove the incompleteness of the work. But in the palm leaf Ms. the work ends with these words—“Śrīr astu, harihara-garbhēbhyo namaḥ”—and a page of the leaf is left blank at the end.

The Author

I have already stated that some verses are attributed to Prakāśavarṣa in the Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra. Catalogus Catalogorum mentions one Prakāśavarṣa as the son¹ of Śrīharṣa. In another place of the same work, it is stated that Prakāśavarṣa wrote a commentary on the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi. In addition to these, several verses can be seen in other Subhāṣita works² also by Prakāśavarṣa. Vallabhadeva the well-known commentator of the works of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Mayūra, etc., and the author of the Subhāṣitāvalī, refers to Prakāśavarṣa and says that he is his preceptor.³ The date of Valla-

1 “Prakāśavarṣa, a Kāśmīrī poet. He was a son of Harṣa and father of the poet Darśaniya.”—Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 347.

2 There are 28 verses attributed to Prakāśavarṣa in the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva (edited by Peterson, 1886) and they are numbered as 3119, 981, 624, 417, 834, 428, 3135, 484, 860, 2876, 2877, 3118 (?), 797, 522, 959, 418, 419, 326, 2335, 2879, 899, 920, 867, 274, 459, 273, (?), 248, and 2878. The verses 834 and 484. above, are in the Śārīṅgadharapaddhati also ascribed to Prakāśavarṣa.

3 “Vallabhadeva, who wrote a commentary on the Śīsupālavadha refers at the end of his note on a verse in the fourth canto of the

bhadeva, in the opinion of some scholars, is in the latter part of the tenth century A.C., and according to others in the fifteenth century. There were two Prakāśavarṣas. One is a rhetorician, the author of the present work Rasārṇava, and the other is a poet, who is mentioned as the author of several verses quoted in the Subhāṣita works, and who wrote a commentary on Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya. The following statements make the above opinion very clear.

Prakāśavarṣa in his Rasārṇava mentions Bāṇa as the best prose-writer :—

“Yādṛg gadyavidhau Bāṇaḥ padyabandhe na tādrśah.” (III 87)

This direct citation of Bāṇabhaṭṭa indicates that Prakāśavarṣa must have flourished after Bāṇa (first half of the 6th century A.C.). Prakāśavarṣa extracts many passages from other early works, and whenever he does so, he indicates them separately by using the words—“yad āha” “yad āha Mahābhāmahaḥ” etc., so that we can understand that they are the direct quotations from other works. Some examples of such citations are given below :—

(1) “yad āha :—

Prastāvapātra¹plutalaṅghitāni

cchedyāni māyākṛtam indrajālam/

²... ... ni yuddhāni ca yatra vṛttim³

tat⁴tādrśīm ārabhaṭīm vadanti”// (III—29)

(2) “yad āha Mahābhāmahaḥ:—

Yatrārabhaṭyādiguṇās samastā

mitratvam āśritya mithah prathante//

Miśreti tāṃ vṛttim uśanti dhīrās

sādhāraṇīm arthacatuṣṭayasya //” (III—37)

Among these citations, the second refers to one Mahābhāmaha. According to this reference this particular verse is not to be found in the Kāvyaṭīkā of Bhāmaha, because the vṛtti is not described by him. Moreover, the name Bhāmaha is used here with “mahat.”

work to Prakāśavarṣa as a contemporary of his own, from whom he has received instruction in the interpretation of the poem :

“Śrutvā Prakāśavarṣāt tu vyākhyātaṃ tāvad Idṛśam./

Viśeṣatas tu naivāsti bodho' trānubhavād ṛte//”

1 Read 'pāta'.

2 Read 'citrāṇi'.

3 Read 'nityam'.

4 Read 'tām'.

These help us to arrive at the conclusion that there were two Bhāmahaṣ.

The following lines occur in the Upamālaṅkāraprakaraṇa of Rasārṇava :—

“Pratibimbam api prekṣya pratibimbi pratiyate/
Atas tad api [rasajñair] upamānam udāhṛtam//
Rūpam śamsanti [mudrāpi] svanimitṭasya vastunaḥ./
Upamānān na sā bhinnā bhavatīty āha (Bhāma)haḥ.” (IV, 91, 92)

The subject illustrated in the above lines is not to be seen in the Kāvyaṅkāra of Bhāmaha. This also proves the existence of another Bhāmaha. Here Prakāśavarṣa has mentioned only Bhāmaha and not Mahābhāmaha, for fear of infringement of metre. It is also clear that Prakāśavarṣa was familiar with the work of Mahābhāmaha (not Bhāmaha, the author of the Kāvyaṅkāra). This same view can be supported by another statement. In the Kāmadhenu, the commentary on Vāmana's Kāvyaṅkārasūtravṛtti,¹ Bhāmaha is cited in the following places :—

- (1) “Bhāmaho'pi—
Prajñā navaṇavonmeṣaśālīṇī pratibhā matā/
Tadanuprāṇanāj jīved varṇanānipuṇaḥ kavīh//” (p. 4)
- (2) “Vṛttilakṣaṇam uktaṃ Bhāmahena :—
Sūtramātrasya yā vyākhyā sā vṛttir abhidhīyate//” (p. 4)
- (3) “Tad uktaṃ Bhāmahena .—
Upaślokyasya mātmyād ujjvalāḥ kāvyasampadaḥ iti.”
(p. 5)
- (4) “Atra kalānām uddeśaḥ kṛto Bhāmahena :—
Nṛttaṃ gītaṃ tathā vādyam ālekhyam maṇibhūmikāḥ//”
etc. (p. 29)
- (5) “Tulyaśrutīnām bhinnānām abhidheyaiḥ parasparam/
Varṇānām yah punarvādo yamakaṃ tan nigadyate”//
iti Bhāmahenoktam.” (p. 99)

Among these extracts, some are to be found in the Kāvyaṅkāra of Bhāmaha, while the others are not. These latter extracts are supposed to be the quotations from another Bhāmaha, whose name is mentioned in the Rasārṇava, as Mahābhāmaha, and who is much older than Prakāśavarṣa and Bhāmaha. Prof. S. K. De holds the same view :²

“Although the name Bhāmaha is not a common one in Sanskrit,

it attaches itself (besides two verses in Subhāṣ : 1664-1665 that are also found in our text II-92, III-21) to a commentator on Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāśa, who is probably a different author."

"Etad grāhyam surabhi kusumam mālyam etan' nidheyam
dhatte śobhām* viracitam idam sthānam asyaitad asya/
Mālākāro racayati yathā sādhu vijñāya mālām
yojyam kāvye³ṣva vahitadhiyā⁴ tadvad evābhidhānam"//

This verse is to be seen in both the works, Rasārṇava and Kāvya-lāṅkāra at the end of the third and first chapters respectively. But we have to decide the authorship of composition. Usually Prakāśavarṣa indicates the extracts of other writers. In regard to this particular verse there is no indication that it is an extract. So it may be justly inferred that this verse must have been his own composition and Bhāmaha borrowed it in his work. In the same manner Bhāmaha has imitated Prakāśavarṣa in many places in idea, and in construction of verses. In some other places the verses have been used by Bhāmaha without any change. A list of such borrowings is appended herewith :

- (1) "Samudāyārthaśūnyam yat tad apārtham⁴ pracakṣate/"
(Bhā. IV, 8 ; Pra. I, 31)
- (2) *Kvacid⁵ āśrayasaundaryād dhatte śobhām asādhv api/
Kāntāvilocananyastaṁ malīmasam ivāñjanam//
Sanniveśaviśeṣāt tu duruktam api śobhate/
Nilam palāśam ābaddham⁶ antarāle srajām iva//"
(Bhā. I, 55 and 54 ; Pra. II, 50 and 51.)
- (3) "Saivam sarveṇa sārūpyam nāsti bhāvasya kasyacit/
Yathopapatti kṛtibhir upamānam⁷ prayujyate//
Akhaṇḍamaṇḍalaḥ kvenduḥ kva kāntānanam adyuti/
Yatkiñcitkāntisāmyāt⁸ tu śaśinaivopamiyate"//
(Bhā. II, 43 and 44 ; Pra. II, 64, 65)

The above passages can be seen in the works of both Prakāśavarṣa and Bhāmaha.

1 Pra. reads 'na dheyam'.

2 Pra. reads 'bhām idam iha punar nai samyak.'

3 Pra. reads 'vyepyava.'

4 Bhā. reads 'thakam iṣyate.'

5 Bhā. reads 'kiñcid.'

6 Bhā. reads 'ārabdha.'

7 Bhā. reads 'mā su.'

8 Bhā. reads 'mānyācchaśi.'

- "Yad abhinnārtham anyonyam tad ekārthaṃ pracakṣate/"
(Bhā. IV, 12)
- (2) "Apakraman tu tad yatra paurvāparyaviparyayaḥ/"
(Pra. I, 33)
- "Yathopadeśam kramaśo nirdeśo 'tīa, kramo matah/
Tadapetaṃ viparyāsād ityākhyātam apakramam"//
(Bhā. IV, 20)
- (3) "prasiddhārthapadanyāsāt prasāda iti kīrtitah/"
(Pra. (II, 7)
- "Avidvadauganābālapratītārthaṃ prasādavat/"
(Bhā. II, 3)
- (4) "Jñeyo'laṅkārayogo'yam kāmīnīvapuso yathā/
Nisargasundarasyāpi prakarsādhāyako dhruvam."//
(Pra. III, 2)
- "Na kāntam api nirbhūsaṃ vibhātī vai itānanam."//
(Bhā. I, 13)
- (5) "Vinayena vinā kā śrīh kā nīśā śaśinā vinā/
Vinā ca śleṣacitīābhyām kīdrśī vāgvidagdhatā"//
(Pra. III, 80, 81)
- "Vinayena vinā kā śrīh kā nīśā śaśinā vinā/"
Rahitā satkavitvena kīdrśī vāgvidagdhatā"//
(Bhā. I, 4)
- (1) "Uktābhinnā'thām ekārthaṃ vyāharanti viśaradāh/"
(Pra. I, 32)

In the same manner, the following passages can be seen in both the works of Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin :—

- (1) "Samudāyārthaśūnyaṃ yat tad apārtham pracakṣate"//
(Da. III, 128; Pra I, 31)
- (2) "Ojas samāśabhūyastvam."
(Da. I, 80; Pra. II, 17)
- (3) "Yatrodvegō na dhīmatām."
(Da. II, 51; Pra. II, 62)
- (4) "Asti kācid avasthā sā² sābhiṣaṅgasya cetasaḥ/
Yasyām bhaved abhimatā viruddhārthāpi bhārati"//
(Da. III, 133; Pra. II, 88)
- (5) "Iha śiṣṭānuśiṣṭānām śiṣṭānām api sarvathā³/

1 Da. reads 'itīṣyate'.

2 Pra. reads 'sā yā (saiā)gasya.'

3 Pra. reads 'vadā'.

Vācānī eva prasādena lokayātrā pravartate//
 Idam andham tamah kṛtsnaṃ jāyeta bhuvanatrāyam/
 Yadi śabdāhvayaṃ jyotir¹ āsamsārān² na dīpyate³//
 (Da. I, 3 and 4; Pra. III, 67, 68)

(6) "Anukampādyatiśayo yadi kaścīd vivakṣyate/
 Na doṣaḥ punarukto' pi⁴ pratyuteyam alaṅkṛtiḥ⁴//"
 (Da. III, 137; Pra. II, 55, 56)

(7) "Kṛdāgoṣṭhīvinodesu tajjñair ākīrṇamantraṇe/
 Paravyāmohane cāpi sopayogāḥ prahelikāḥ//"
 (Da. III, 97; Pra. III, 82)

(8) "Na saṃhitām vivakṣyāmītyasandhānaṃ padesu yat/
 Tad viśandhīti nirdiṣṭam na pragrhyādīhetukam//"
 (Da. III, 159; Pra. II, 54, 55)

The following passages of Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin resemble each other:—

(1) "Uktābhinnārtham ekārtham vyāharanti viśāradāḥ/
 (Pra. I, 32)

"Aviśeṣeṇa pūrvoktam yadi bhūyo'pi kīrtyate/
 Arthataḥ śabdato vāpi tad ekārtham mataṃ yathā//"
 (Da. III, 135)

(2) "Lokātīta ivārtho yaḥ so'timātra iheṣyate//"
 (Pra. I, 34)

"Lokātīta ivātyartham adhyāropya vivakṣitaḥ/
 Yo'rthas te nātītusyanti vidagdā netare janāḥ//"
 (Da. II, 89)

(3) "Na hi Kuṣṭhādibhir dosai rahitaṃ kāmīnīvapuh/
 Nṛtagītādicāturyaguṇān nādrīyate kvacit//"
 (Pra. II, 2)

"Syād vapuṣ sundaram api śvitreṇaikena durbhagam//"
 (Da. I, 7)

(4) "Prasiddhārthapadanyāsāt prasāda iti kīrtitah//"
 (Pra. II, 7)

"Prasādat prasiddhārtham."
 (Da. I, 45)

(5) "Bandho mṛdusphuṭonmīśravarṇajanmā na saṅkaraḥ/
 Bhajate yatra sodbhedam tat samatvam udīryate//"
 (Pra. II, 8)

1 Pra. reads 'yajjyotir.'

3 Pra. reads 'ktepi.'

2 Da. reads 'raṃ na.'

4 Pra. reads 'kriyā.'

"Samam bandhesvaviṣamam te mṛdusphuṭamadhyamāḥ/
Bandhā mṛdusphuṭonmiśravarṇavinyāsayonayah//"

(Da. I, 47)

(6) "Akaṭhorāksaranyāsaḥ saukumāiyam udāhṛtam//"

(Pra. II, 9)

"Aniṣṭhurākṣaraprāyaṃ sukumāram iheṣyate//"

(Da. I, 69)

(7) "Rūḍhāhaṅkārataurjityam."

(Pra. II, 29)

' Ūrjasvi rūḍhāhaṅkāram."

(Da. II, 275)

(8) "Yatnah sambandhanirjñānahetuh ko'pi kṛto yadi/
Kramabhraṇīṣam api prāhur na doṣam sūrayas tadā//"

(Pra. II, 53, 54)

"Yatnah sambandhaviññānahetuko'pi kṛto yadi/
Kramalaṅghanam apyāhus sūrayo naiva dūṣaṇam//"

(Da. III, 146)

(9) "Sukumārārthabandhesu gauḍaiś śīthilam iṣyate/
Anuprāsadhiyā te hi bandhavaidagdhyanisprhāḥ//"

(Pra. II, 67)

"Śīthilam /
Anuprāsadhiyā gauḍais tad iṣṭam bandhagauravāt//"

(Da. I, 43, 44)

(10) "Mattonmattādivākyeṣu nāpārtham api duṣyati//"

(Pra. II, 74)

"Unmattamattabālānām ukter anyatra duṣyati//"

(Da. III, 128)

(11) "Saṃśayā aiva sandigdham yadi jātu prayujyate/
Syād alaṅkāra evāsau na doṣa iti me matiḥ//"

(Pra. II, 76, 77)

"Idṛśam saṃśayāyaiva yadi vā tu prayujyate/
Syād alaṅkāra evāsau na doṣas tatra tad yathā//"

(Da. III, 141)

(12) "Kāntam bhavati sarvasya lokasīmānuvarttinah//"

(Pra. II, 79)

"Kāntam bhavati sarvasya lokayātrānuvarttinah//"

(Da. I, 88)

(13) "Uccyante rītayas tatra tathāpi prasphuṭāntarāḥ//"

(Pra. III, 17)

"Tatra vaidarbhagauḍīyau varṇyete prasphuṭāntarau//"

(Da. I, 48)

- (14) "Pravṛtter vā nivṛtter vā yat kāryaṃ syān nibandhanam/
Tatrāsyā hetur ityākhyā ṣaṭprakāraḥ sa kathyate//
Ekah pravarttako hetur anyah kārye nivarttakah/
Abhāvahetur aparo jñāpako'nyaḥ prayojakah//
Anyo bahuprapaṇcas tu citrahetur iti smṛtah/
Kvāpi patra[vaśāvandhyaḥ] kvāpyarthāntarabādhitaḥ//"
(Pra. IV, 11, 12, 13)

"Kārakajñāpakau hetū tau cānekavidhau yathā/
... ..
Alaṅkāratayoddīṣṭaṃ nivṛttāvapi tat samam/
... ..
Nirvartye ca vikārye ca hetutvam tadapekṣayā/
Prāpye tu karmaṇi prāyaḥ kriyāpekṣaiva hetutā//
Hetur nivarttanī asya darśitaḥ
... .. ramyāḥ jñāpakahetavaḥ//
Abhāvahetavaḥ kecid vyāhriyante manoharāḥ/
Prāgabhāvādirūpasya hetutvam iha vastunaḥ//
Bhāvābhāvasvarūpasya kāryasotpādanam prati/
Dūrakāryas tatsahajah kāryānantarajas tathā// etc.
(Da. II, 235-259)

- (15) "Sūkṣmah sūkṣmaguṇas tu sah" (Pra. IV, 14)
"Saukṣmyāt sūkṣma iti smṛtaḥ." (Da. II, 260)

- (16) " prayatnād vā kāraṇaṃ sahakāri yat/
Āsādyate kriyārambhe tad dvidhaiva samāhitam//"
(Pra. IV, 18)

"Kiñcid ārabhamāṇasya kāryam daivavaśāt punah/
Tatsādhanasamāpattir yā tad āhus samāhitam//"
(Da. II, 298)

- (17) "Prasiddhahetutyāgena hetvantaravibhāvanam/
Svabhāvabhāvanam syād ya vibhāvanā//"
(Pra. IV, 19, 20)

"Prasiddhahetuvyāvṛtṭyā yatkiñcitkāraṇāntaram/
Yatra svābhāvikatvaṃ vā vibhāvyam sā vibhāvanā//"
(Da. II, 199)

From these statements, I think it is possible to say that Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are dependent on Prakāśavarṣa, and hence Prakāśavarṣa must have flourished before Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and after Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, i.e., between 650 A.C. and 750 A.C.

“Yad āha :—

Yac ca vṛtyaṅgasandhyaṅgalakṣaṇādyāgamāntare/
Vjāvarṇitam idaṃ ceṣṭam alaṅkāratayaiva naḥ//”

(III, 38)

The above verse, which must have been extracted by Prakāśavarṣa from some early work, is seen in the Kāvyaadarśa of Daṇḍin. As many other lines are found to be identical in Rasārṇava and Kāvyaadarśa and are not indicated as quotations by Prakāśavarṣa, it leads one to the conclusion that Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin must have borrowed this verse from the same source, necessarily an ancient work like the Nāṭyaveda of Bharatamuni. If Prakāśavarṣa had taken this particular verse from Daṇḍin, he must have given the same indications to the other similar passages also.

There were many ancient rhetoricians before the age of Prakāśavarṣa, and he cites them by using the words—‘vidur budhāḥ,’ ‘rasako-vidaiḥ,’ ‘śāstravido viduḥ,’ ‘prāhuḥ,’ ‘vyāharanti viśāradāḥ,’ etc. In the beginning of the Rasārṇava he announces that he is going to describe the *doṣa* in accordance with the method of the ancients.

“Kramaśaḥ pūrvabhaṅgyā tu tatprapañcaḥ prakīrtiyate/” (I, 1)

He also mentions several authors—‘(A)ḍhyarāja,’ ‘Śrīsāhasāṅka,’ ‘Bāṇa,’ and ‘Vātsyāyana,’ and works—‘Arthśāstra’ by ‘Maheśvara,’ ‘Svayaṃbhū,’ ‘Vātavyādhi,’ ‘Bṛhaspati,’ and ‘Kauṭalya,’ ‘Kāmaṇḍakīya-nītisāra,’ and ‘Vidagdhamukhamāṇḍana.’ He declares that

1 “When and where the author Kāmandaka or Kāmandakī lived, it is not possible to determine. It is certain, however, that he is anterior to Bhavabhūti who flourished in the seventh century A.D. For, it is legitimate to surmise that Bhavabhūti was conversant with the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka as he thought it fit to give the name, Kāmandaka—the traditional sense of which is restricted to the author of the Nītisāra—to a female ascetic in his Mālatīmādhava as proficient in the art of diplomacy. The Nītisāra is also cited at the end of the first chapter of Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin ... Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, in his preface to Nītisāra of Kāmandaka, observes that a work of the like title was taken to the island of Bali by the Hindus who migrated thither about the beginning of the Christian era.” Introduction to Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, T.S.S., no. 14.

2 Vidagdhamukhamāṇḍana by Dharmadāsaśūri. “Kiñcāyaṃ kavirājaḥ kīdrśaḥ, kasmin samaye kām bhuvam alaṅcakāreti vijñātum atīva durghaṭam. Tathāpi svamatyā kiñcin nirdhāryate. Yad asau

in the age of Sāhasāṅka, Sanskrit was spoken by all the people in the country.

“Kāle Śrīsāhasāṅkasya ke na Samskṛtabhāṣiṇaḥ/” (III, 92)

From this we can guess that Sāhasāṅka also was like Paramabhāṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśiṅharṣavardhanacakravartin, a patron of Sanskrit literature. In the same way he announces that in the age of (Ā)ḍhyarāja, Prakṛta was very familiar to the people. The direct citation of several works on Arthaśāstra is to be found in the work. Prakāśavarṣa, it seems to me, describes the origin and development of Arthaśāstra chronologically, and by the use of present tense in the word ‘pravartate’ in the following line,

“Vātavyādher api granthas saprapaṇcaḥ pravartate/”

(IV, 57)

he makes special reference to the Arthaśāstra of Vātavyādhi, that was familiar in his time.

Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin borrow the ideas of Prakāśavarṣa, and in some places they differ from each other in their opinions.

For instance:

(1) In Rasārṇava the yamaka is divided into seven kinds. Bhāmaha has divided them into five varieties, and includes the remaining two among these five.

(2) Prakāśavarṣa describes ‘hetu’, ‘sūkṣma’ and ‘leśa’ as separate alaṅkāras. Bhāmaha condemns this separation because they are not exhaustive.

“Hetuś ca sūkṣmo leśo’tha nālaṅkāratayā matāḥ/

Samudāyābhidheyasya vakrokyanabhidhānataḥ//

Dharmadāsanāmā sūrir bauddhasādhuḥ ‘Siddhausādhanī’ iti prathamapadyena, madhye Buddha-devastutyā ca, tataḥ āśīrvādokteḥ iti ṭīkātippanaslokaś ca jñāyate. Ayaṁ ca sarveṣu deśeṣu kṛtaviharaṇaḥ kāvyā-laṅkāra-kośa-citrakalāpravīṇaś cāṣī. Kiñca prathamam śrautasamārta-dharmi tadudvejanenaiva svadharmaṁ vasatiṁ ca viḥāya magadheṣu Pāṭalīputre bauddhadharmaṁ śīśriye. Ayaṁ ca bauddhānām katamasmin rājani Pāṭalīputre magadhān praśāsati saty āśīd ityādi na jñāyate.”

Introduction to Vīdagdhamukhamāṇḍana, Edited by Ramaprapanna Sastri.

In this work the praśnottaras are described in the second and the third paricchedas.

Gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ/
Ityevamādi kiṃ kāvyam vārtām enām pracaksate//"

But Daṇḍin condemns the opinion of Bhāmaha and establishes that they are principal alaṅkāras.

"Hetuś ca sūkṣmaleśau ca vācām uttamabhūsaṇam/
Gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ//
Itidam api sādheva kālāvasthānivedane//"

(3) Prakāśavarṣa has accepted 'yukti (hetu) virudhā' and 'prati-jñāviruddha' as doṣas. But Bhāmaha does not agree with Prakāśavarṣa. Daṇḍin has stated that there is difference of opinion among rhetoricians as to whether they are doṣas or not.

The subject-matter

Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin give definitions and illustrations for all alaṅkāras, guṇas, doṣas, etc. which they describe, while Prakāśavarṣa merely defines. I have stated elsewhere how many paricchedas Rasārṇava contains and have spoken about the subject-matter they individually deal with. The first pariccheda is styled dosapramoṣa. In this pariccheda doṣas are described as of three kinds, namely (1) padadoṣa, (2) vākyadoṣa, and (3) vākyārthadoṣa. The padadoṣas are fourteen in number. They are:—(1) asādhū (2) anibaddha (3) kaṣṭha (4) kliṣṭha (5) anarthaka (6) apuṣṭāṭha (7) gūḍhārtha (8) apratīta (9) sasamśaya (10) neyārtha (11) asamartha (12) aprayojaka (13) deśya and (14) grāmya. In this classification the last, grāmyadoṣa, is further divided into three, namely (a) asabhyā (b) amaṅgala and (c) ghrṇākara.

Vākyadoṣas are also fourteen in number. They are:—(1) śabdahīna (2) kramabhraṣṭa (3) viśandhi (4) punarukta (5) vyākīrṇa (6) bhinnavṛtta (7) saukīrṇa (8) garbhita (9) bhinnalīṅga (10) bhinnavacana (11) khañja (12) nyūna (13) adhika and (14) śleṣādiguṇahīna.

The bhinnavṛtta is again classified into two as follows:

"Tad vaiṇayati bhedenā dvidhā tajñair udāhṛtam,"

of which the yatibhramśadoṣa is one. In addition to this yatibhramśa, they have also treated of another doṣa which is named bhinnavṛtta.

The guṇas can be divided into (1) śabdaguṇa (2) arthaguṇa and (3) ubhayaguṇa. The śabdaguṇas are (a) śleṣa (b) samatā and (c) sukumārātā. Arthaguṇas are (a) arthavyakti (b) prasāda and (c) kānti. Ubhayaguṇas are (a) ojas (b) mādhyūya (c) audārya and

(4) samādhi. The absence of these ten guṇas is described as ten doṣas. These are indicated by the word ādiśabda in the expression 'śleṣādiguṇa'. They are as follows :—(1) śleṣaviparyaya (2) sāmyaviparyaya (3) saukumāryaviparyaya (4) arthavyaktiviparyaya (5) prasādaviparyaya (6) kāntiviparyaya (7) prauḍhiviparyaya (8) mādhyaviparyaya (9) audāryaviparyaya and (10) nissamādhi.

There are 16 doṣas relating to vākyārtha. They are :—(1) āpārtha (2) vyārtha (3) ekārtha (4) sasamśaya (5) apakrama (6) khinna (7) atimātra (8) virasa (9) parusa (10) hīnopama (11) adhikopama (12) visadṛśopama (13) aprasiddhopama (14) nīralankāra (15) ṛśīla and (16) viruddha.

Among these, the last viruddhadosa can be classified into three sections under the names (1) pratyakṣaviruddha (2) anumānaviruddha and (3) āgamaviruddha. The pratyakṣa includes (a) deśaviruddha (b) kālaviruddha and (c) lokaviruddha, anumāna includes (a) yuktiviruddha (b) aucityaviruddha and (c) kāmāśāstraviruddha. The line which describes the characteristics of kālaviruddha is not to be seen in the text. But the statement in the second chapter that kālaviruddha sometimes becomes a guṇa by some reason, clearly indicates that the description of this dosa is omitted in the original palm-leaf manuscript.

Bhāmaha has treated of only 15 doṣas. And he has not divided them with reference to pada, vākya or vākyārtha. For, these doṣas, when they relate to pada, vākya and vākyārtha, come under the respective categories. He also declares his approval of two doṣas yuktiviruddha and pratijñāviruddha. He says that the punaruktadoṣa becomes neyārtha when it is related to artha. Daṇḍin has accepted only ten doṣas, and these ten doṣas relate to artha and śabda. He also mentions the controversy which existed among rhetoricians about yukti (hetu) viruddha and pratijñāviruddha, as to whether they are guṇa or not.

Under the head of vākya there exist two doṣas, nyūna and adhika, and the same are also described under vākyārtha as nyūnopama and adhikopama. There is no difference among these doṣas except their difference in relation to vākyārtha. With regard to upamā, four doṣas are defined under vākyārtha. The first two, nyūnopama and adhikopama, are illustrated by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and the last two, aprasiddhopama and visadṛśopama, are explained only by Bhāmaha. Regarding these two, Daṇḍin is silent. In addition to these, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin speak of two more upamādoṣas which

are caused by the difference in gender and number among upamāna (that with which anything is compared) and upameya (that which is compared). Prakāśavarṣa has designated them as bhinnaliṅga and bhinnavacana and placed them under the head of vākya. There is a seventh upamādoṣa known as viparyaya (asadrśatā?) which is mentioned by Bhāmaha alone. Bhāmaha in his Kāvyaālāṅkāra says that these seven upamā-defects are expressed by Medhāvīrudra, one of his predecessors.

The second pariccheda is styled guṇopādāna (acquisition of qualities).

I. Guṇas are divided into śabda and artha. The śabdaguṇas are 22 in number. They are:—(1) ślesa (2) prasāda (3) samatā (4) mādhyurya (5) sukumārata (6) arthavyakti (7) kānti (8) audārya (9) udāttatā (10) ojas (11) aurjitya (12) preyas (13) suśabdatā (14) samādhi (15) sūksma (16) gāmbhīrya (17) samkṣepa (18) vistara (19) sāmmitya (20) bhāvikatva (21) rīti and (22) ukti.

All these names are significant of their character. Prakāśavarṣa insists that words and sentences should be constructed in a particular form to bring about these qualities. Arthaguṇas also are 22 in number. There is no separate name for them and they bear the names of śabdaguṇas. Bhāmaha has not devoted any particular chapter or section to describe guṇas which are indispensable to poetry, while Daṇḍin treats of only ten guṇas as the essence of Vaidarbhamārga. Neither does he mention guṇas that are related to Gauḍamārga except some differences between Vaidarbhi and Gauḍī. Some of the guṇas described by Prakāśavarṣa are considered as alaṅkāras by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, because their characteristics seem to be the same in all three works. The characteristics of audārya and udātta are as follows:—

“Vadanti bandhavaikaṭyam audāryaṁ kavipuṅgvāh/

Ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam udāttam iti tad viduḥ//” (II, 16)

Daṇḍin says that some rhetoricians ascribe the definition of udātta to udāra (audārya).

“Ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam udāraṁ kaiścid iṣyate/”

II. After the description of guṇas, the author explains the manner in which the doṣas treated in the first pariccheda sometimes become guṇas and he speaks of 43 such doṣas, excluding only one doṣa, virasa. It is not possible to decide whether the author actually omitted this particular doṣa or it is an omission in the manuscript as in the case of kālavirodha.

“Dosāṇām¹ api yeṣāṃ syād guṇatvaṃ kārāṇāt kvacit/
Catvāriṃśat tad ucyante te ca vaiśeṣikā guṇāḥ//”

(II, 35, 36)

In the above verse, the author says that there are only 40 doṣas. This number seems to me inconsistent, because he defines 43 such doṣas altogether. He treats of doṣas as guṇas under the same order as is used in the first pariccheda, i.e., at first, pada, then vākya, and then vākyaṛtha. Describing the last doṣa under vākya, Prakāṣavarṣa says that the absence (1) of śleṣaguṇa will be construed as śaithilyadoṣa (2) of sāmya as vaiṣamya (3) of saukumārya as kaṭhora (4) of arthavyakti as neyārtha (5) of prasāda as aprasanna (6) of kānti as avyutpanna (7) of prauḍhi (ojas) as aprauḍhi (8) of mādhyurya as anirvyūḍha (9) of audārya as niralāṅkāra and (10) of nissamādhi as ṛjumārga. Among these, the fourth and ninth, neyārtha and niralāṅkāra, are treated as separate doṣas under vākya and vākyaṛtha respectively. From the nature of the treatment of these ten doṣas ‘śleṣādi-guṇahīna’, it can be presumed that the author is not very particular in considering such absence as doṣas. On the contrary, he is very particular that the ten guṇas (in addition to other guṇas) should be indispensable to poetry. With a similar view in mind, Daṇḍin treats of ten guṇas and not of their absence as constituting doṣas :—

“Śleṣaḥ prasādas samatā mādhyuryaṃ sukumāratā/
Arthavyaktir udāratvam ojaḥkāntisamādhayaḥ”//

III. The beginning of the second chapter (pariccheda) is as follows :—

“Nirdiṣṭasyāpi kāvyasya guṇopādānam antarā”/ (II, 1)

From this it can be inferred that the author himself has described the characteristics of kāvyā with its various divisions elsewhere, and therefore the same is not treated in this work. Moreover, the work begins without any benedictory verse or any kind of introduction such as ‘granthakartṛpraśasti,’ ‘anubandhacatuṣṭayanirūpaṇa’ etc. The first pariccheda is devoted to doṣas. All these go to prove that there must have existed some more chapters of the work containing ‘kāvyā-nirdeśaprakaraṇa’ and other connected matter. As Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin extensively describe the characteristics of kāvyā and their varieties, there must have been a source for their works.

I. The third pariccheda is styled śabdālaṅkāraprakāśana (manifestation of figure of speech depending for its charm on sound or

words). At first, Prakāśavarṣa gives the general characteristics of alaṅkāra in a clear manner. Then he divides them into three classes (1) bāhyas (2) ābhyantaras and (3) ubhayas. The śabdālaṅkāras come under the first class, because they elevate sound or words. The āntaras (ābhyantara) are called arthālaṅkāras because they elevate the sense of poetry. The author has not given the names of alaṅkāras which come under the third class ubhaya. But from the nature of his treatment it is very easy to guess that alaṅkāras like śleṣa come under the third class.

II. There are 18 śabdālaṅkāras. They are:—(1) jāti (2) rīti (3) vṛtti (4) racanā (5) ghaṭanā (6) mudrā (7) chāyā (8) yukti (9) bhaṇiti (10) śravatā (11) śleṣa (12) citra (13) aucitya (14) praśnottara (15) prahelikā (16) anuprāsa (17) yamaka and (18) gūḍhokti.

The jāti, which is in the form of Saṁskṛta, Prākṛta, etc., is divided into śuddhā and sādharmaṇī. Without mentioning their general term and without dividing them into śuddhā and sādharmaṇī, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin classify languages into Saṁskṛta, Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa, but Daṇḍin adds a fourth one called Miśra. Daṇḍin states that they are the divisions of vāṇmaya. There are five rītis, namely (1) vaidarbhi (2) gauḍī (3) pāñcālī (4) lāṭī and (5) āvantī. Rīti is the name given to the construction of a sentence according to the peculiarities of the people using it. According to Daṇḍin there are several rītis, but two of them, vaidarbhi and gauḍī, are more important than others because these exhibit marked differences. He describes extensively only these two. There are four vṛttis: (1) kaiśikī (2) ārabhaṭī (3) bhāratī and (4) sātvatī. Mudrā is divided into four kinds in relation to (1) vibhakti (2) vacana (3) saṁvidhāna and (4) samuccaya. Imitation of other writers is called chāyā. It is divided into six kinds (1) padayukti (2) padārthayukti (3) vākyayukti (4) vākyārthayukti (5) prakaraṇayukti, and (6) prabandhayukti; bhaṇiti into four (1) sambhāvanārūpā (2) asambhāvanārūpā (3) kalpanārūpā and (4) virodharūpā, śravatā into six (1) āśīrūpā (2) namaskriyārūpā (3) nāndīrūpā (4) vasturūpā (5) bijarūpā and (6) prarocanārūpā; śleṣa into six (1) prakṛtiśleṣa (2) vibhaktiśleṣa (3) padaśleṣa (4) vacanaśleṣa (5) bhāṣāśleṣa and (6) pratyayaśleṣa; aucitya into two (1) abhidhānaucitya and (2) bandhaucitya; and praśnottara into six (1) antaḥ-praśna (2) bahih-praśna (3) ubhayapraśna (4) pṛṣṭa-praśna (5) uttarapraśna and (6) jātipraśna. Prakāśavarṣa states that the study of the work Vidagdhamukhamanḍana will furnish a detailed description, and varieties of praśnottara. Prahelikā (a riddle) is divided

into six kinds (1) parivartita (2) vinyasta (3) lupta (4) vyutkrama (5) binduka and (6) ārtha. Bhāmaha has not illustrated prahelikā, but he says that the surname of prahelikā is yamaka, and it is described by Rāmaśarman in his Acyutottara. Daṇḍin mentions 14 varieties of prahelikā and describes them with examples. There is no similarity between varieties described by Prakāśavarṣa and Daṇḍin. There are seven kinds of yamaka. They are: (1) avyapeta (with restricted position of letters or words) (2) avyapeta (without restriction of letters or words in their position) (3) vyapeta (with restricted position of letters or words) (4) vyapeta (without restriction of letters or words) (5) avyapetavyapetaka (with restricted position of words or letters) (6) avyapetavyapetaka (without restriction of letters or words in their position) and (7) samudgaka. According to Bhāmaha's division, yamaka is of five kinds viz. (1) ādiyamaka (2) madhyāntāyamaka (3) pādābhyāsayamaka (4) āvalīyamaka and (5) samastapādayamaka. He includes the other varieties sandaṣṭaka, samudgaka, etc. with the above five. In addition to seven varieties treated by Prakāśavarṣa, Daṇḍin separately describes some more, namely sandaṣṭa, samudga, ślokābhyāsa, mahāyamaka and pratiloma. He also informs us that even though the sandaṣṭa is included with some other species by some authors, he is very particular to make it a separate one. In the beginning of the third pariccheda of his Kāvyaḍarśa¹ he has devoted 78 verses to the description of yamaka-varieties.

According to the author, anuprāsa comes after prahelikā. But in the present text no description is available regarding anuprāsa, because yamaka is treated after prahelikā. I think that the des-

1 There are many editions of Kāvyaḍarśa. The Calcutta edition by Jivananda Vidyasagara contains only three paricchedas, joining the third and fourth prakaraṇas together. I have seen an old palm leaf Ms. of Kāvyaḍarśa in Travancore, and the following particulars are to be found in this Ms.:—(1) It contains four paricchedas, including a separate one for dosas. (2) The last sentence of each chapter contains Āryadaṇḍiviracite (not Ācāryadaṇḍi) Daṇḍyalaṁkāre (not Kāvyaḍarśe).

Daṇḍyalaṁkāra is the original name of the work. It was afterwards styled 'Kāvyaḍarśana' and now 'Kāvyaḍarśa.' There is a translation of the work in Tamil, entitled 'Daṇḍi-alaṁkāra' which, I suppose, was translated about the 10th century A.C.

cription of anuprāsa in the Ms. is lost. After dividing yamaka into seven kinds, the author says :—

“Lakṣyalakṣaṇabodhārthaṃ dīnāmātram tu pradarśyate”/

(III, 64)

But the lakṣyalakṣaṇabodhapradarśana is also not to be found in the text. Gūḍhokti is of five kinds. They are: (1) by kriyābheda (2) by kārakabheda (3) by sambandhabheda (4) by padabheda and (5) by abhiprāyabheda.

III. After giving this description Prakāśavarsa says that these alaṅkāras are the several positions of the Goddess of speech, they are to be the main points of the sentences to be constructed in such a way as will give proficiency, fame, reputation, glory, and credit to the writer, and that they are indispensable to poetry.

IV. He concludes the third chapter (pariccheda) with a description of the passage—“vicitrā hi Sarasvatī.”

The fourth chapter is styled Arthālamkāranirṇaya (consideration of arthālamkāras). There are 28 such alaṅkāras. They are: (1) jāti (2) hetu (3) ahetu (?) (4) sūksma (5) sāra (6) samāhita (7) bhāva (8) vibhāvanā (9) anyonya (10) virodha (11) visama (12) sambhava (13) pratyanika (14) vyatireka (15) asangati (16) leśa (17) parivṛtti (18) nimīlana (19) vitarka (20) smaraṇa (21) bhrānti (22) abhāva (23) āgama (24) upamāna (25) anumāna (26) pratyakṣa (27) saṁśaya and (28) atīśaya.

Among these 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11-14, 15, and 18-26 are not described by Bhāmaha. He treats of some additional alaṅkāras: (1) arthāntaranyāsa (2) ananvaya (3) apahnuti (4) aprastutapraśamsā (5) ākṣepa (6) āśis (7) utprekṣā (8) udātta (9) upamā (10) upameyopamā (11) ūrjasvīn (12) tulyayogitā (13) dīpaka (14) nidarśanā (15) paryāyokta (16) prativastūpamā (17) preyas (18) bhāvika (19) yathāsaṁkhyā (20) rasavat (21) rūpaka (22) viśeṣokti (23) vyājastuti (24) śleṣa (25) samāsokti (26) saḥokti (27) saṁśrṣṭi, and (28) svabhāvokti, which are not defined in the Rasārṇava. Daṇḍin has accepted 35 alaṅkāras in all, and he describes them with examples. He has reproduced nine alaṅkāras (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17 and 28) from the Rasārṇava. In addition to these, the following occupy his attention: (1) svabhāvokti (2) upamā (3) rūpaka (4) dīpaka (5) āvṛtti (6) ākṣepa (7) arthāntaranyāsa (8) samāsokti (9) utprekṣā (10) krama (11) preyas (12) rasavat (13) ūrjasvīn (14) paryāyokta (15) udātta (16) apahnuti (17) śleṣa (18) viśeṣa (19) tulyayogitā (20)

aprastutapraśaṃsā (21) vyājastuti (22) nidarśanā (23) saḥokti (24) āśis (25) saṅkīrṇa and (26) bhāvika.

(1) Preyas (2) ūrjasvin (3) udātta and (4) bhāvika, which are regarded as guṇas by Prakāśavarṣa, are converted into alaṃkāras by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. In the Rasārṇava the śleṣa is included in the śabdālaṃkāra. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin have transferred it to arthālaṃkāra. The jāti is also described as the first śabdālaṃkāra. Hetu is divided into six kinds: (1) pravartaka (2) nivartaka (3) abhāva (4) jñāpaka (5) prayojaka and (6) citra. Daṇḍin has divided hetu into four varieties excepting the first two, and given the name kāraka to prayojaka. He also mentions that jñāpaka and kāraka will come under pravṛtti and nivṛtti and divides kāraka into three kinds: (a) nirvartya (b) vikārya, and (c) prāpya, and divides citrahetu into many varieties: (a) dūrakārya (b) kāryasahaja (c) kāryānantaraja (d) ayuktakārya (e) yu'takārya, etc. Prakāśavarṣa has divided sūkṣma into six kinds, whereas Daṇḍin into two. Sāra is of two kinds under dharmi and dharma. Samāhita also is of two kinds. Daṇḍin makes no division of this alaṃkāra. Prakāśavarṣa says that virodha may come also under śabdālaṃkāra, but for fear of increasing the number of śabdālaṃkāras, he has not illustrated it in the śabdālaṃkāra-prakaraṇa. The divisions of sambhava are (1) vidhi (2) nisedha (3) ūbhayarūpa and (4) ubhayavarjita. Vyatireka is calculated into seven kinds (1) ekavyatireka (2) ubhayavyatireka (3) sadṛśavyatireka (4) asadṛśavyatireka (5) sajātivyatireka (6) vyaktivyatireka and (7) rūpakaprakṛti. Bhāmaha makes no division of this alaṃkāra. Daṇḍin also speaks of seven species of this, and has given the same name for 1, 2, 3 and 5. The remaining ones are (a) sākṣepavyatireka (b) sahetuvyatireka and (c) saśleṣavyatireka. He also describes some varieties of the third, sadṛśavyatireka. They are: (a) śabdopādānasādṛśavyatireka and (2) pratīyamānasādṛśavyatireka, etc. Abhāvālaṃkāra is classified into four varieties: (1) prāgabhāva (2) pradhvaṃsābhāva (3) atyantābhāva, and (4) kalpitābhāva. Here anyonyābhāva is not mentioned, and saṃsargābhāva alone is described. Some Naiyāyikas hold the opinion that saṃsargābhāva contains only three kinds, omitting the last one, whereas some others have opined that it has four divisions. Prakāśavarṣa supports the latter and gives four divisions of abhāva. Kalpitābhāva is also called sāmāyikābhāva. Āgamālaṃkāra is described extensively. It is divided into four kinds: (1) dharma (2) artha (3) kāma and (4) mokṣa. Dharma can be earned by pravṛtti and nivṛtti. There are three kinds of artha:

(1) pitrya (2) sva and (3) sañcita. Prakāśavarṣa makes reference to the works on Arthaśāstra, and describes ten important sections of a treatise on Arthaśāstra. They are: (1) vinayaskandha (2) vārtaskandha (3) vyavahṛtiskandha (4) rakṣāskandha (5) mantraskandha (6) upāyaskandha and (7) vibhramaskandha (8) upaniṣatskandha (9) yuddhaskandha and (10) praśamaskandha. Then he shows ten main uses of Arthaśāstra and deals with kāma, and classifies women into (a) kanyā (b) svastrī (c) parastrī and (d) sāmānyā. Kāma related to kanyā will fall under two categories as vaivāhika and pāradārika. Svastrī can be divided into two kinds as rūḍhā and avaruddhā, and parastrī into three as rūḍhā, avaruddhā, and raṇḍā. Pratyakṣālaṃkāra will come into five classes according to their relation to arthapañcaka.

As the experienced men will long to taste the charm and richness of ideas, the poet who writes kāvya is expected to construct sentences in such a way that they will be full of ideas and beauties. Thus he closes the fourth chapter.

Dr. Ganapati Sastri has observed¹ that (a) Bhāmaha was familiar with Bhāsa's dramatical works, (b) the origin of Brhatkathā is after Bhāmaha, (c) he must have flourished before Kālidāsa, and (d) his age may be settled as the first century B.C. But these are only the assumption of Dr. Sastri.

There was no work available on the history of Sanskrit rhetoricians, their systems, and their comparative merits. Prof. S. K. De, who has been working in this field for a long time, has made a valuable contribution to the Sanskrit world, by publishing his 'Sanskrit Poetics.' In this work he has described all the rhetoricians and their works chronologically, and made comparative statements. I find that about 410 rhetoricians and 430 alaṃkāra-works receive his attention, including minor works and authors. But the Rasārṇava of Prakāśavarṣa, which is the earliest work on poetics after the Nāṭyaveda, is not cited in his work and the reason may be the rarity of the Ms.² Some time after the publication of his work he came to know the existence of the Rasārṇava and made the following remarks³:—

"Rasārṇava by Prakāśavarṣa. It is in five paricchedas, the

1 Vide Sans. Intro. to Svapna: TSS, No. 15. pp. 23-25.

2 I thank the authorities of the Government Mss. Library, Madras, for allowing me to use this Ms.

3 Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. IV. part II, p. 283.

first four of which deal with guṇa and doṣa and the last with rasa. This work also shows the influence of the above work of Bhoja (Śṛṅgāraprakāśa). It is a comparatively recent composition, and Prakāśavarṣa cannot be identical with the Prakāśavarṣa known to us as the preceptor of Vallabha-deva, the famous scholiast on the standard classical kāvyas."

From the statements made by me about Prakāśavarṣa and his work, it is easy to understand that these remarks of Prof. De are not acceptable. His statement that "the first four (paricchadas) of which (Rasārṇava) deal with guṇa and doṣa" is unquestionably an error and the same is found in the report of the Mss. Library also.

After the printing of the text, I have been able to make some corrections and emendations of the text, and I give them below:—

- (1) 'hataṃ deśakālaloka' (I—40)
- (2) 'nīlaṃ palāśa' instead of 'nīlaṃ ca pāśa' (II—51)
- (3) 'tāṃ vivakṣāmi' instead of 'tāṃ vicakṣyāmi' (II—54)
- (4) na praghyādihetukam.' (II—55)
- (5) 'sarvaṃ sarveṇa' (II—64)
- (6) 'hāsyādāv avyutpannam api' (II—7)
- (7) 'apakramo'pi, instead of 'a (theda ?) m api' (II—77)
- (8) 'nisargasu' (III—2)
- (9) 'citrāṇi yu' (III—29)
- (10) 'tām tādr' instead of 'tattādr' (III—29)
- (11) read 'puruṣaprayojyā' or 'nṛvaraprayojyā' instead of 'bhara-taiḥ prayojyā' (III—32)
- (12) read 'nyāyena' instead of 'tyāgena' (III—34)
- (13) read 'śokabhāvā' instead of cittabhāvā' (III—34)
- (14) 'ceṣṭam alaṇ' (III—38)
- (15) 'praśnottaranāmnā
krīḍāgoṣṭhīvinodeṣu tajñair ākīrṇamantraṇe.' (III—82)
- (16) 'nidheyam' instead of 'na dheyam' (Bhāmaha's reading) (III—97)
- (17) 'bhām viracitam idaṃ sthānam asyaitad asya' (Bhāmaha's reading) (III—97)
- (18) 'tir hetu' instead of 'tihetu' (IV—2)
- (19) 'Inḡitākāra' (IV—14)
- (20) 'Sāra ityu (?)' instead of 'Rasa ityu' (IV—17)
- (21) 'guktaṃ' instead of 'guptaṃ'. (IV—24).

